

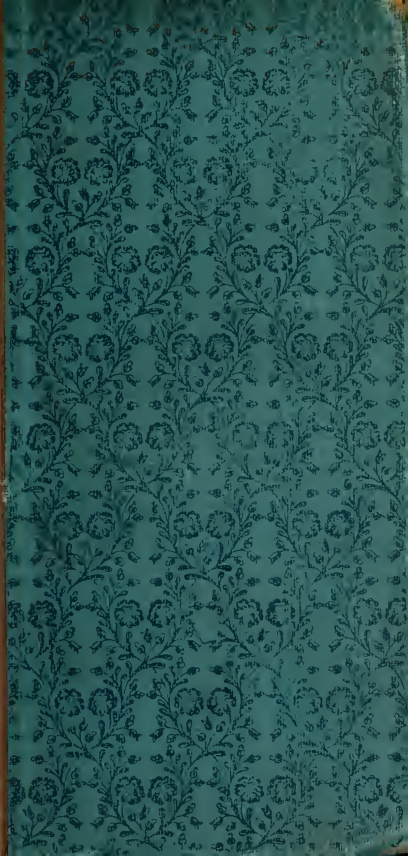
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HOWELL'S FAMILIAR LETTERS





PHOTOMEZZOTYPE

THE OKE IS FELD, THE ROSE & LILLY'S GONE.
'TWIXT CIPRESSES & WILLOWES NOW I MONE.

I. H.

EPISTOLÆ . . .
. . . HO-ELIANÆ

THE FAMILIAR LETTERS
OF
JAMES HOWELL

VOL. I.

Edited by
W. H. BENNETT



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BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

Montaigne and *Howell's Letters* are my bedside books. If I wake at night, I have one or other of them to prattle me to sleep again. They talk about themselves for ever, and don't weary me. I like to hear them tell their old stories over and over again. I read them in the dozy hours, and only half remember them. . . . I love, I say, and scarce ever tire of hearing the artless prattle of those two dear old friends, the Perigourdin gentleman, and the priggish little clerk of King Charles's Council.'

So said Thackeray, and yet, while every one knows the 'Perigourdin gentleman,' at least by name, if not intimately, the author of the *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaicæ* and his surprisingly interesting letters are almost entirely unknown to any save the frequenters of one of the least trodden of the bye-paths of English literature.

From 1645—the date of publication of the first volume of these delightful letters—until 1754, no less than eleven editions were called for, when, oddly enough, a tide of comparative oblivion seems to have swept both letters, and all general interest in their author, into a backwater of unmerited neglect.

There can be little doubt that the *Familiar Letters* of the elder Balzac, which are so contemptuously referred to by Howell in his initial letter, suggested the publication of a like collection; but to Howell belongs the credit of being the author of one of the earliest volumes of English epistolary literature.

These letters afford excellent specimens of the 'News Letter' of their period—the closing decade of the reign of James I., and the eventful years that marked the reign of Charles I.—being largely interspersed with lively accounts of the stirring political events of the day, and wonderfully graphic pictures, drawn with the pen of a sagacious and subtle observer, of the ways and manners of such of our

continental neighbours as their author came into contact with during his 'forreine travells.'

Of the greatest interest to the student, by reason of the side-lights he throws upon many of the important historical dramas then taking place, Howell will be found the most fascinating companion for an idle hour; for, possessing the facile pen of the readiest of writers, he passes from grave to gay, and from jest to earnest, with an inimitable quaintness that never ceases to give zest to the reader's appetite. Agreeable gossip and amusing anecdote—sometimes, it cannot be denied, a little too freely flavoured with the customary outspokenness of the seventeenth century—follow severe monitory epistles, dictated by a manly aversion to the vices he castigates, but never more severely in others than in himself, for in his naïve confessions of his own shortcomings Howell never spares himself. Alternating with grave philosophical disquisitions, that will be amusing enough to the scientist of to-day, will be found flights of an imagination that is always indulging itself in 'airy odd thoughts.'

Of an affectionate, impulsive disposition, Howell not only made friends, but kept them to the end of his days. He was an ardent Royalist, without being blind to the faults of Charles ; a loyal Churchman, without bigotry ; religious, but no pietist ; a scholar, but not pedantic ; and a humorist without cynicism. In short, in spite of all his faults, which certainly included a tendency towards the extravagant foppery and the roystering joviality of the Stuart period, he was clearly blessed with one of those happy, genial natures, that, together with an all-round knowledge of the world, and an easy confidence in himself, made him a general favourite with his contemporaries.

Of James Howell's earliest days we know very little with any degree of certainty. He was evidently of gentle birth, for his father, without being sufficiently well-to-do to avoid the necessity of apprenticing some of his younger sons to trades, assuredly could not have been entirely dependent upon the one or more livings he held in South Wales. Moreover, Howell refers to the arms

of both his father and mother—the only reference he ever makes to his mother—and we find him writing to his uncles, Sir Sackville Trever and Sir John Vaughan, and his nephew, Mr. William Blois, of Grundisburgh Hall, Suffolk, the son-in-law of Sir Thomas Wingfold. He was born in 1594,¹ ‘about the midst of the dog-days,’ and was one of fifteen children, probably the second son, his elder brother, Thomas, afterwards Bishop of Bristol, being his senior by three or four years. Anthony à Wood, in his *Athene Oxonienses*, states that Howell was born in Caermarthenshire, ‘particularly, as I conceive,’ he says, ‘at Abernant, of which place his father was minister.’ But in opposition to this, Fuller distinctly states that Howell’s elder brother was born upon the Byrnn of Llan-

¹ This, with nearly every other date of Howell’s personal chronology, can only be taken as being approximately correct, for the only comparatively fixed point of departure is Wood’s statement that Howell was sixteen years old when he entered Jesus College in 1610; and this must be understood to mean *nearly* sixteen; for Howell, in a letter evidently written in the spring of 1644, refers to his age in words showing that he had not then quite reached his fiftieth year.—*Ide* vol. ii., p. 336.

gammarch in Brecknockshire, and as Howell never once mentions Abernant or its neighbourhood, although he concludes a letter to his father 'with all my love to all my brothers and sisters at the Brynn, and near Brecknock,' besides other references to the same district, the evidence all goes to prove that he, too, was born at Llangammarch. His own statement 'that the ground whereon I was born was the belly of a huge hill' also fits in with this theory, which has been already advanced by the writer of the article on James Howell in the *Biographia Britannica*. At a comparatively early age he was sent to Hereford, where he attended the Free School of that town and was educated in 'grammar learning.' He speaks of this as a 'choice methodical school—so far distant from your (his father's) dwelling,'—and quaintly alludes to its 'learned (tho' lashing) master.' He was evidently a child of promise, for in the same letter just quoted, he refers to 'that most indulgent and costly care' which his father had 'been pleased (in so extraordinary a manner) to have of my breeding.'

The only other reference he makes to his schooldays is a passing allusion to the time when he carried 'a calf-leather satchel to school in Hereford.'

Early in 1610, when he was nearly sixteen, he commenced his University career at Jesus College, Oxford, then in the first half century of its existence. Its charter was conferred in 1571, by Elizabeth, and it was the first college founded on distinctly Protestant lines. Its first endowment came from Dr. Hugh Price, and many, if not most, of its fellowships and scholarships were confined to Welshmen. Howell was in all probability the holder of one of these scholarships, but still partly dependent on his father, whom he speaks of as 'holding him up by the chin, until he could swim without bladders.' He acquired the 'patrimony of a liberal education,' by passing 'thro' the briars of Logic, the fair fields of Philosophy, and the Mathematics.' Here he doubtless attracted the friendly interest of Sir Eubule Thelwall, Sir Francis Mansell, and Dr. Thomas Prichard, the first two of whom were both

subsequently Principals of Jesus College. At this time the College estates in *Brecknockshire* were so unproductive that the Society consisted only of a Principal, two or three Fellows, and a few Commoners, who lived in tenements not then brought into quadrangular form. Here Howell wooed the Muses, and, we may well believe, lived plainly, and 'wore his lambskin hood' (for he became a B.A. in December, 1613), at the age of nineteen.¹ Here also he formed the close friendship with his frequent correspondent Dan. Caldwell, that lasted until the death of the latter. He scarcely ever speaks of Oxford except as 'his dearly honoured mother,' and he always retains the most lively feeling of affection for his Oxford friends.

Being 'a pure cadet, a true cosmopolite; not born to land, lease, house, or office,' on leaving college he has to think of 'swimming without bladders,' and we next find him in London, where, doubtless, through the influence of Sir Francis Mansell, he obtained

¹ He was made a Fellow of his College in November, 1623, during his absence in Spain.

the position of steward of a Glass-house in Broad Street. This Glass-house belonged to a company possessing a patent granting a monopoly for the manufacture of glass with coal furnaces. In 1615 the name of Sir Robert Mansell (the uncle of Sir Francis) was introduced into the patent, and no doubt at this time Howell entered upon his post. He was hard put to hold his own, however; for he found himself 'too green for such a charge,' and in danger of 'melting away to nothing among those hot Venetians.' A process that is apparently accelerated by the 'wits of the Court,' his friends of the Middle Temple and Gray's Inn, and his 'boon companions' Tom Bowyer, Jack Toldervy—whom Howell especially enjoins not to make the 'Fleece,' in Cornhill, his thoroughfare too often—and Tom, afterwards Captain, Porter, and the rest of the young 'bloods' that took part in the making-merry that went on aboard the 'Ship' behind the Exchange. So, after a few months, he is despatched as a travelling agent to engage workmen in Italy, and to buy material in Spain, France, and 'other foreign countries.'

In this capacity he is clearly a paid official ; for, in writing to his father, he says, 'If I happen, by some accident, to be disappointed of that allowance I am to subsist by, I must make my address to you, for I have no other rendezvous to flee unto ; but it shall not be unless in case of great indigence.'

He starts upon this 'first transmarine voyage' in the early spring of 1616,¹ hoping to have opportunity, by the nature of his employment, to study men, as well as books. He modestly disclaims having more than 'a little of school language,' and starts with only 'some smatterings of the Italian tongue,' in the way of 'preparatives' for travel. He obtains 'a warrant from the Lords of the Council to travel for three years anywhere, Rome and St. Omers excepted.' In his Letters he gives full particulars of this first tour. He spends four months 'in motion to and fro' in the Low Countries, by which time he begins 'more and more to have a sense of the sweet-

¹ The date given in the *Letters* as 1618 is obviously incorrect, as it does not allow the necessary time for the events that occurred in Howell's life between it and his starting for Spain in March, 1622.

ness and advantage of foreign travel ;' and remains in France long enough to 'get the language,' making an 'autumnal journey' over the Pyrenees into Spain, where he appears to have spent the best part of the following year. Going on to Venice in the spring of 1618, and after remaining the summer there, he takes the road of Lombardy, visiting the principal towns of Italy, including Rome,—in spite of the Lords of the Council. Returning over the Alps, which he calls 'high and hideous,' 'uncouth, huge, monstrous excrescences of Nature,' and being brought on one occasion 'to such an extreme low ebb in money,' he is forced to 'foot it along with some pilgrims,' paying a flying visit to Geneva, taking the Loire route to Paris, and thence for England; where he arrives after nearly three years' absence, at the close of 1618. Although he comes back safely, he comes sickly, suffering from the effects of an illness that had troubled him at Oxford, and which had been renewed during his tedious forty days' voyage from Spain to Italy. He makes special mention of the care

his brother bestows upon him after his return. This brother, there is little doubt, was Thomas, who had become rector of West Horsley, in Surrey, and of St. Stephen's, Walbrook. Howell consults his physician, Dr. Harvey, who warns him, that unless he has an issue in his arm stopped, he is in danger of falling into a consumption. But English air and the sight of old friends work marvels, and he 'picks up his crumbs apace,' and is soon on 'the point of a perfect recovery.'

His father now advises him 'to hearken after some other condition,' fearing that 'this glass-employment' will prove 'too brittle a foundation' for him 'to build a fortune upon,' and he makes application 'to go secretary to Sir John Ayres to Constantinople,' but he is too late.

In seeking after 'a new course of employment,' a new employment finds him¹; and through the influence of his father's friend, Sir James Crofts, who appears to have been the good genius of the family, and to have occupied an almost paternal position in young Howell's regard, he is engaged as travelling

¹ Early in 1619.

tutor to the two sons of Lord Savage, at Long-Melford, in Suffolk. He speaks of this family with the greatest admiration, as 'civil and noble, and virtuous and regular, as any in the land.' Such a dainty race of children he has never seen before, and the house and its arrangements he is 'mightily taken with.' He proves, however, 'too young for such a charge,' being then but twenty-five years old, and finds a difficulty in harmonizing his own religious views with those of his Roman Catholic pupils, besides feeling an objection to be bound to stay abroad, as he says he would have been, for another three years. But it says much for the good opinion this family formed of him, that their friendly interest continued over the long period covered by his letters. Leaving Long-Melford, Howell next writes from St. Osyth, where he is apparently the guest of Earl Rivers, the father of Lord Savage, 'a noble and great knowing Lord.'

He returns to town early in January, 1620, and we next find him starting on his second transmarine voyage 'as travelling companion to his friend, Richard Altham,' Baron Altham's

ion, whom Howell describes as being 'one of the hopefulest young men of this kingdom for parts and person.' He goes over much of the ground of his previous travels; is sick forty days at Paris, so dangerously, that he thought he would never be able to write to his father again. This illness appears to have been brought on through his determination to read a fixed number of books in a definite time, which necessitated his 'watching many nights together, tho' it was in the depth of winter,' the result being severe cold in the head, for which he was cauterized in the cheek; had an issue made to give vent to the 'imposthume;' and was finally bled! No wonder he gave up all hope of ever writing again.

This 'voyage' seems to have lasted a year, which brings us to the spring of 1621, when we find Howell in London, again 'at a dead stand' in the course of his fortunes. How the remainder of this year was spent is not very clear, but towards its close we find him preparing to go to Spain, in company with the Ambassador—Lord Digby, afterwards Earl of Bristol—as Royal Agent, an appointment for

which he states that he has to kiss 'the King's hands.'

The object of his commission was to bring about a settlement of the long-standing claim of some merchants of the Turkey Company against the Spanish Crown, arising out of the alleged illegal seizure of the *Vineyard* by the Viceroy of Sardinia. Howell starts on this expedition in March, 1622, not with, but three weeks after, Lord Digby, he having been delayed by the 'misfortune which befel Mr. Altham and me, of wounding the Sergeants in Lombard Street,' most likely the result of a disreputable fracas with which his boon companions of the '*Ship* behind the Exchange' had something to do. Nevertheless, he arrives at Madrid in time to attend 'my Lord Ambassador to Court at his first audience.' Here he throws himself with impetuous and characteristic vigour into his 'great business,' and soon writes to say that he has perused all his predecessor's papers 'touching the ship *Vineyard*;' which he finds are higher than himself in bulk. For a time all goes well, the English are in good odour in Spain,

‘because of the hopes there are of a Match.’ By the spring of 1623 he is preparing to start for Sardinia, in the fond hope of bringing his business to a settlement, when the English officials at Madrid are astounded by the unexpected arrival of Prince Charles and Buckingham. Of this event, which caused so much ‘wonderment,’ and its effects, Howell gives a detailed and intensely interesting account. Very soon all further progress in the *Vineyard* business is put an end to, for Sir Francis Cottington, the Prince’s secretary, requires Howell ‘to proceed no further herein, till he (the Prince) was departed.’ Howell tells the story of the failure of the Spanish Match negotiations with all the fidelity of an acute and observant eye-witness, and goes on to state that he and ‘all here are in a sad disconsolate condition,’ and ‘how the merchants shake their heads up and down, out of an apprehension of some fearful war to follow.’ The ‘neck of all business is broken,’ and mine, he writes, ‘suffers as much as any ;’ for the Spaniards, irritated at the breaking off of the famous Match, were in no mood for concessions. He

perseveres, nevertheless, until the last 'breath of hope' is gone, and remains at Madrid until the fall of 1624, when he returns with Mr. Wiches in convoy of the Prince's jewels, valued at 400,000 crowns, and immediately on landing at Plymouth he posts to Theobalds 'to bring his Majesty news of their safe arrival.'

Touching the employment upon which he went to Spain, he had his charges borne all the while, 'but that was all.' He now casts about for another fortune, and is in hopes that 'the Duke of Buckingham, now in high favour because of his share in breaking of the Match,' will obtain him suitable employment. Upon the evidence of a letter preserved in the Public Record Office, we find him writing to Lord Conway to warn him of one 'James Wadesworth, a busie pragmaticall fellowe,' whom he suspects to be in the pay of Gondomar. This letter is dated from the Middle Temple, where Howell was possibly the guest of his 'choice' friend Robert Brown.

It was his fortune to be at Theobalds in March, when the death of James occurred.

Charles being proclaimed within a quarter of an hour of his father's death, Howell takes horse for town instantly, but finds the gates shut, he having been forestalled. He describes the proclamation of Charles, which took place at Whitehall, in a 'sad shower of rain,' and gravely adds, 'the weather was suitable to the condition wherein he finds the kingdom, which is cloudy.' He writes at this time, 'I am not settled yet in any stable condition, but I lie wind-bound at the *Cape of Good Hope*, expecting some gentle gale to launch out into any employment;' and he soon adds that he is 'weary of walking up and down idly upon London Streets.' The Plague begins to 'rage mightily,' but a brighter note is struck with 'the gallant news' of the completion of the negotiations for the marriage of Charles to Henrietta, which takes place in June of this year. Later in the same year we find him writing to Dr. Field, the Bishop of Llandaff, thanking him for the 'worthy hospitable favours' he had receiv'd at the prelate's lodgings in Westminster. Howell appears to have been living in expectation

of official favour at this time, for he is at Oxford in attendance on the Court, from whence he pays a visit in August to Wales, to fetch, as he writes, 'my good old father's blessing.' For this journey he was supplied with a Royal Post-warrant.

Howell fails to obtain any post at the hands of Buckingham, for the reason that he is believed to be too much *Digbyfied*—which was not at all improbable; for he was much more likely to be of Digby's party than of Buckingham's, as far as their respective Spanish policies were concerned. At this crisis—the autumn of 1625—Mr. Secretary Conway sends for him and 'proposes' to him 'that the King had occasion to send a gentleman to Italy in nature of a moving agent.' He summons his thoughts to council, and writes a very judicious letter to Lord Conway, the point of which is that as he is a cadet, without other patrimony or support but his 'breeding'—used here in the sense of experience—he must be able 'to breathe by the employment.' He offers to accept the duties for 100*l* a quarter, and leaves the matter to Lord Con-

way's 'noble consideration,' with the result that his lordship demurs to the salary propounded, but Howell states that he comes off fairly with 'my Lord;' for he has a 'stable home employment proffered him by Lord Scroop (afterwards Earl of Sunderland), at that time Lord President of the North.

He quickly comes to terms with Lord Scroop, and agrees to go with him to York, as his secretary. This arrangement appears to have been concluded in the autumn of 1625, when Howell had arrived at the age of thirty-one.

At York he lives well contented, having a fee from the King, diet for himself and two servants, livery for a horse, and a part of the King's house for his lodging, with other privileges which no former secretary—he is told—ever had. He builds himself a new study here, and becomes 'a right Northern man.'

In March, 1628, he is chosen burgess for the neighbouring town of Richmond, 'tho' Master Christopher Wandesford, and other powerful men, and more deserving than I,' he modestly adds, 'stood for it.'

He at once takes his seat in the Parliament of which Wentworth was leader, and doubtless becomes one of his supporters. With reference to this year, there is a letter of great interest existing in the Stafford Collection; it bears the date of December 15, and was written by the Earl of Sunderland (Lord Scroop) from Worcester House, in St. Martin's Lane, to Wentworth, who had succeeded him as President of the North. He says, 'I understand your Lordship hath bestowed the next Attorney's place (at York) in reversion upon James Howell, my secretary. I must thank you for it, and the rather because he hath deservedly and faithfully served me in that place, wherein I hear your Lordship hath succeeded me.' In the same Collection a letter also exists, dated May 5, 1629, from Howell to Wentworth, thanking 'his ever honoured good Lord' for this 'free and noble favour' in deeply grateful terms.

Up to 1632, Howell appears to have retained his position as Lord Sunderland's secretary, an appointment which probably lost its official character when Lord Sunderland

ceased to be President of the North, and returned to London. This is the more likely, as Lord Sunderland at this time falls into a 'languishing sickness,' and Howell evidently becomes very necessary to him. We find many references to the various ways in which he manages the Earl's affairs for him, not altogether, however, to his own satisfaction, for his remuneration 'came far short,' he writes, 'of what he promised me at my first coming to him.' As late as 1635, Howell writes to the Countess of Sunderland with regard to his claims, which were then still unsettled.

In May, 1632, the Earl of Leicester and Lord Weston are about to start as Ambassadors Extraordinary on a mission to Christian IV., 'to condole the late death of the Lady Sophia, Queen-Dowager of Denmark, the grandmother of Charles.' Howell is offered, by Leicester, 'to go Secretary in the Ambassage,' and being assured that the journey will tend to his profit and credit, he accepts the offer.

Before he leaves England, he receives the sad tidings of his father's death. He speaks

of this, in a singularly beautiful letter, as the 'heaviest news' that ever was sent him; and, judging from the panegyric he expresses, his father must have been a most estimable man, and very nearly approaching the ideal country parson.

His letters give evidence of the industrious and suitable preparations he makes for this journey, and in September Howell goes aboard 'one of his Majesty's ships at Margets' and quickly arrives at Hamburgh, where 'matters being off the hinge twixt the King of Denmark and this town,' he finds himself 'interpell'd by many businesses.' Upon reaching the Danish Court, he is employed as orator, and he makes 'a long Latin speech, *alta voce*, to the King,' on the occasion of the Embassy, and in praise of the deceased Queen. With pardonable pride he refers to the failure of Secretary Naunton, who thirty years previously, having a similar office to fulfil, was at the very commencement of his speech 'dash'd out of countenance, and so gravell'd that he could go no further.' We may be sure that Howell suffered from no such excess

of modesty. Here they stay near upon a month, feasting and being feasted; drinking on one occasion no less than thirty-five healths in one evening, with the result that the King was taken away at last in his chair, 'but my Lord of Leicester bore up stoutly all the while.' Howell makes another speech, also in Latin, and is so eloquent, that he makes the tears run down the Duchess of Holstein's cheeks. Various diplomatic difficulties are arranged, and in less than three months the Embassy returns to London.

On the way home Howell hears the news of the death of Gustavus Adolphus, which he finds is not believed in London, the Exchange being full of people ready to 'lay wagers he is not yet dead,' for so uninterrupted had been his career of victory that its sudden collapse seemed quite incredible.

After his return, Howell was apparently still officially employed; for in the Public Record Office a letter exists, dated August 23, 1633, written by Howell to Sir Francis Windebank, at that time principal Secretary of State, in which he refers to a flying visit to

Orleans, made at the request of Sir Francis, from which he hopes to receive some fruits hereafter.

The letters written about this time give evidence of his intimate relationship with the English Court, but there is also an allusion to a thick cloud of melancholy which overcasts him, suggestive of his still being without an income equal to his expenditure.

At this period we have interesting allusions to his friendship with his 'contiguous neighbour' Ben Jonson, whom Howell thanks for the *regalo* he received at the poet's house at Westminster, and the good company he met there. We may be sure that Howell would not have found a place at such symposia unless he had been a wit and *bon vivant* of the first water.

It is worthy of note that Howell addresses Jonson with a critical freedom that could only have been possible on the supposition that he was esteemed by the poet, not only as an intimate friend, but also as a man of considerable ability, and possessing matured powers of judgment.

Among the *Stafford Letters*, there is one of Howell's to Wentworth, dated from Westminster, November 28, 1635. Although it throws little light upon Howell's life at this point, yet it is of great interest, as being undoubtedly authentic and quite in keeping with the considerable number of others of a like nature. These 'News-Letters' suggest the idea that Howell received some return from his numerous official patrons; and this is the more likely, for from 1633 to 1639 there is no positive evidence of his being in receipt of an income from any fixed employment. This theory is supported by the following lines from Webster's 'White Devil'—

'His Holiness hath sent you a thousand crowns,
And wills you, if you travel, to make him
Your patron for intelligence.'

Here we have evidence that payment for 'News-Letters' was not unknown, and Howell's special opportunities of cultivating a foreign correspondence would render his letters of considerable value.

Towards the close of this period he writes, that he has had 'too long a supersedeas from

employment,' having engaged himself 'to a fatal man at Court'—possibly Secretary Windebank—and in 1639 he turns his thoughts towards Ireland, where Wentworth is Lord Deputy.

He takes Bath on his way, for the sake of the waters, and then visits Brecknock, arriving safely at Dublin, where he makes 'an humble motion to my Lord,' and receives an answer 'full of good respect' that he shall have the next clerkship of the Council. The aged and decrepit state of its occupant, Sir William Usher, leads him to think this office will not be long in coming. He is sent to Edinburgh, most likely as a messenger from Wentworth to the leaders of the National Assembly. He returns to Dublin, and 'so to London,' his appointment of Clerk to the Irish Council having presumably fallen through, and the subsequent fall of Strafford putting an end to all hopes in that quarter.

He now turns his attention to literature, and in 1640 publishes his first work *Δενδρολογία*, otherwise *Dodona's Grove: or the Vocal Forest*, a quaint but laboured and somewhat

inflated allegory, of which the chief interest lay in its covert allusions to current events.

In January, 1642, he issued a poem, 'The Vote' dedicated to King Charles as a 'New Year's Gift,' and on August 30, of the same year, he is at last appointed Clerk of the Council in Extraordinary. The Privy Council minutes record that this event took place 'att the Court att Nottingham.'

But, alas, his good fortune soon deserts him, for before the year ends he is a prisoner in the Fleet.

Anthony à Wood states that 'being prodigally inclined, and therefore running much into debt, he was seized on by the order of a certain committee,' and clearly infers that he was imprisoned for debt. Howell himself implies that he was imprisoned because of his Royalist sympathies. He speaks of the seizure of all his papers and letters, and anything that was manuscript, by *armed men, with swords, pistols and bills, upon a warrant from the Parliament*; of his examination before a close committee; of the report of one Mr. Corbet, who was appointed to peruse the

papers, and who in his report to the House could find nothing that might give offence. In spite of this, he states 'such was my hard hap, that I was committed to the Fleet,' under close restraint. In the same letter he refers to 'these ruptures (between the King and the Parliament) which threaten so much calamity.' Later, he says, 'I am resolved that, if *innocence* cannot free my body, yet patience shall preserve my mind.' He refers several times to his *enemies*, scarcely the term he could fairly apply to mere creditors. Again, he alludes to the 'choice gentlemen who are my *co-martyrs*.' He also says, in writing to his friend Mr. E. P.—Endymion Porter, who was Charles' Secretary during the romantic trip to Spain—that he *dares* not adventure to send any London intelligences, she 'being now a garrison town ; and you know,' he adds, 'as well as I, what *danger* I may incur.' Again, in a later letter to the same intimate friend, he writes, 'I cannot correspond with you in that kind (news) as freely as I would.' If any credence at all is to be given to Howell's statements, and unless he is to be charged

with wilful perversion of the truth, his own evidence very strongly points to his incarceration being due to political and not to civil causes. His connection with Strafford alone would have been quite enough to render him an object of suspicion to the Parliamentarians. Add to this his being a Royalist official, an Oxonian, the friend of Sir Kenelm Digby (one of the most ardent and faithful adherents of the Royalist party), and a staunch Churchman, and there is no improbability in his own statement as to the causes of his imprisonment. Doubtless Anthony à Wood relied too strongly upon the belief that the Fleet was only used as a debtors' prison, whereas, as a matter of fact, it was not used for that purpose at all until 1640; and as late as 1681, the date of the publication of the *Present State of London*, its author, Delaune, states that 'the prisoners there (the Fleet) are commonly such as are sent thither from the Court (Chancery) for contempt of the King, his laws, or such as will not pay their debts.'¹ So that Anthony à

¹ It is also on record that the victims of the Star Chamber were immured in the Fleet during the reign

Wood's uncalled for insinuation may be justly considered to be wanting in corroboration. That Howell was in debt at this time is exceedingly likely, and it is even possible that his creditors, seeing him deprived of all means of paying them, may have become troublesome, for in a letter written during the period to Sir E. Savage he expresses the belief that he will overcome all these pressures, survive his debts, and surmount his enemies.

And he sets bravely to work to do this, and during the eight years that elapsed before his release in 1650, he devoted himself to literature as a means of livelihood with remarkable industry. His first prison book was the *Instructions for Foreign Travel*, the first English guide-book to the Continent; and in spite of a serious illness which he states left 'both mind and body somewhat crazy,' he wrote no less than twenty distinct works, mostly of a polemical nature, and not of lasting interest, besides which, he collected and edited the first of Charles I., and that it was used in the following reign as a place of imprisonment for numbers of Puritans.

two volumes of his Letters. With regard to their authenticity considerable doubt has been expressed. Anthony à Wood roundly states that 'many of the said letters were never written before their author was in the Fleet, as he pretends they were, only feigned (no time being kept with the dates), and purposely published to gain money to relieve his necessities.'

It may be urged in defence of Wood's charge, that Howell says all his papers and letters were taken from him when he was first imprisoned. He never states, however, that they were not returned, at least in part, and he does state that nothing could be found in his papers 'that might give offence.' Moreover, in a prefatory note to be found in the second volume of Letters, issued in 1647, Humphrey Moseley, Howell's publisher, states, 'It pleased the author to send me these ensuing Letters as a supplement to the greater volume of *Epistolæ Ho-Eliañæ*, where they could not be inserted then, because *most* of his papers, whence divers of these Letters are derived, were under sequestration.'

The inference is clear that the Letters were 'derived' from documentary sources, and it is quite certain that Howell kept a very full Ephemerides or Diary, in which he most probably either copied or drew up the first draft of his letters. The following remarks, extracted from his *Instructions for Foreign Travel*, bear materially on this point. He says, 'He (the traveller) must always have a Diary about him.' Again, 'He must couch in a fair alphabetique paper-book the notablest occurrences;' and also, 'One thing I must recommend to his special care, that he must be very punctual in writing to his friends which he must do exactly, and not in a careless perfunctory way not to scribble a few cursory lines, but to write elaborately and methodically.'

These references, with many others existing in the Letters themselves, all tend to prove that Howell possessed very full notes, if not copies of his letters, to say nothing of the possibility of his friends returning his letters to him when it was known that he intended to publish them.

It should be mentioned that only one letter¹ was dated in the first edition, yet the dates that now appear were inserted in an edition (the third) published during Howell's lifetime. The anachronisms are, however, so obvious, that it is impossible to believe he was personally responsible for such gross blundering.

At the same time, it is perfectly certain that Howell, especially in the earlier letter, carelessly interpolated references to past historical events, that cannot be made to harmonize with the chronological sequence of the story of his own life.

Of the substantial truth of that story, and of the accuracy of his descriptions of the historical events referred to, there is little room for doubt; and, after a most careful investigation of the question, the present editor has come to the conclusion that, although many of Howell's letters were possibly compiled from notes, or even re-written from memory, there is sufficient evidence to

¹ Letter XII., Sect. iv., p. 58, vol. ii. The date at the head of this letter is that given in the first edition; the date at the foot of the letter, which is incorrect, appeared first in the third edition.

warrant the belief that the greater number of them were authentic in the strictest sense of the word, for it should be remembered most of the persons to whom these letters had been written were alive at the time of their publication. The inference is obvious.

The first volume, published in 1645, was dedicated to the King. The second volume was published in 1647, and the third and fourth in 1655, the year in which the first complete edition appeared. In the second edition, dedicated to the Duke of York, afterwards James II., Howell writes, 'This book was engendered in a cloud, born a captive, and bred up in the dark shades of melancholy; he is a Benoni, the son of sorrow, nay, which is a thing of wonderment, he was begot in the grave by one who hath been buried quick any time these five-and-fifty months.' In this doleful state he languishes for over eight years, being released under bail¹ in 1650.

After this, and during the whole of the

¹ Cowley, who, it will be remembered, was also imprisoned by the Cromwellians, was similarly not released until substantial security had been provided.

Commonwealth period, he appears to have devoted himself entirely to literature, successfully maintaining himself by the proceeds of his pen. In 1655 he published a work entitled *Some Sober Inspections made into the Carriage and Consults of the late Long Parliament*. This he dedicated to Cromwell, whom he compares in complimentary terms to Charles Martel. The stress laid by Wood upon this incident must be attributed to prejudice, for there is no proof that our author was directly treacherous to his old party, nor can any stronger charge be fairly brought against him for his apparent compliance than that he did what all the nation did. Indeed, Howell's enforced seclusion, as well as his scholarly tendencies during the preceding period, must have induced him to adopt rather the philosophic *suave mari* attitude than the fervid enthusiasm of an active political partisan.

In the Bodleian Library there is a copy of *Dodona's Grove*, which bears an inscription, dated 1652, showing that it was presented by the author to Selden, and among the Manuscripts in the British Museum the following

letter, which evidently accompanied it, may be seen :—

‘SIR,—The principal aim of this small present is to bring you thanks for the pleasure and profit I have received from your works where-with you have enriched the whole common-wealth of learning, and wherein may be discovered such a fulness and universality of knowledge that it may well be said *Quod Seldenus nescit, nemo scit*. And this was a kind of character that some of the renowndest men beyond the seas gave of you in some discourse I mingled with them. Moreover, these small pieces (which I shall be bold to pursue with a visit) come to introduce me to your knowledge, not you to mine, for it were an ignorance beyond barbarism not to know you. May you please, when (having nothing to do) you have cast your eyes upon them, to throw them into some corner of the lowest shelf that stands in your library, where it will be an honour for them to be found hereafter ; and if these be admitted, I have more to follow. So, hoping that this obligation will not be held an intrusion, I rest, sir,—Your most humble and ready servitor,

‘JAMES HOWELL.’

During this period he published his well-known *Londinopolis*, a work which he states he mostly took 'from Stow and his continuators.' In 1659 he published his *Lexicon Tetraglotten*. This work consisted of 'an English-French-Italian-Spanish Dictionary; a collection of 'Proverbs; or old sayed saws and adages,' in the same languages. To each of these collections Howell prefixed letters composed entirely of proverbs 'running in one congruous and concurrent sense.'

In Mr. A. Morrison's Autograph Collection there exists a letter of Howell's to Sir Edward Walker, then at the English Court at Brussels, dated March, 1659. Herein he expresses the opinion that the troubles from which London is suffering will not be ended except 'by calling in King Charles.' He also anxiously inquires for news of his old patron, the Earl of Bristol (Lord Digby).

Of the details of Howell's life subsequent to the date of his release very little is known with any certainty. At the Restoration we find him petitioning Charles II. that his

appointment as one of the Clerks of the Privy Council may be confirmed, as far as we know without result. Wood suggests, as a reason for this neglect, Howell 'having before flattered Oliver and sided with the Commonwealth's men'; but as Charles afterwards gave him the office of 'Historiographer Royal,' this insinuation seems to be of a gratuitous nature, the more so, because there is evidence that a royal grant of 200*l* was made in February, 1661, to Howell 'as of his Majestie's free gift without account.' Later in the same year Howell petitioned Lord Clarendon that he might become tutor to Catherine of Braganza in the following terms: 'Your Lordship having been pleased to promise me the contribution of your favour, I take the great boldness to desire your Lordship would please to move his Majesty that I may attend the Lady Infanta (who comes to be our Queen) in quality of her tutor for languages. For having the Spanish tongue (with the Portuguese dialect), as also the Italian and French, both for the practice and theory so far that I have published a Great Dictionary, with grammars

to all the three, dedicated to the King at his first coming (for which his Majesty promised to set a mark of his favour upon me), of which Dictionary I was not wanting to present your Lordship with one. Having also a compendious choice method of instruction, I hope I shall be thought *par negotio*.' It is, however, to be feared that the sun shone no more on James Howell, for his office of Historiographer Royal seems to have been purely honorary, and we find him writing to the last.

His will bears the date of October 14, 1666, and he died in the following month, being in his seventy-second year. He was buried, in accordance with his own wish, on the north side of the Temple Church, near the round-walk. Shortly after his death a monument was erected to his memory, bearing the following inscription: *Jacobus Howell Cambro-Britannus, Regius Historiographus (in Anglia primus), qui post varias peregrinationes, tandem naturæ cursum peregit, satur annorum et famæ, domi foris que huc usque erraticus, hic fixus 1666.*' When the Temple Church was under repair in 1683, this monument

was removed from its place over the grave, and it is now to be found in the north gallery.

It is impossible in this brief sketch to attempt the review of this remarkably versatile author's works, they being more than three-score in number. In spite of the morose and prejudiced judgment which Anthony à Wood passed upon them, they were highly esteemed by Howell's contemporaries, judging by the following extract from the preface to a collected edition of his poems, published two years before his death.

'Not to know the author of these poems,' says their editor, Peter Fisher, 'were an ignorance beyond barbarism, as 'twassaid of a famous person in France: yet I held it superfluous to prefix his name in the title-page, he being known and easily distinguished from others by his genius and stile. . . . He may be called the prodigie of his age, for the variety of his volumes. . . . And 'tis observed, that in all his writings there is something still new, either in the *matter*, *method*, or *fancy*, and in an untrodden tract. Moreover, one may dis-

cover a kinde of vein of poesie to run through the body of his prose, in the concinnity and succinctness thereof all along. He teacheth a new way of epistolizing; and that *Familiar Letters* may not only consist of words, and a bombast of compliments, but that they are capable of the highest speculations and solidest kind of knowledge.'

As a later writer has well said, 'Howell is one of the few whose genius, striking in the heat of the moment only current coin, produced finished medals for the cabinet.'

Dr. Paley was in the habit of saying that the true epistolary style was to speak directly to the point; if this be so, Howell's letters are certainly models, for his style is as forcible and direct as it is nervous and idiomatic, and justly entitles him to be considered as belonging to the grand Elizabethan period of English writers.

In spite of the charge that has been brought against him of affectation, the unprejudiced reader must feel that 'he writes as if his hand were the secretary of his heart,' and that he was true to his own motto:

*Ut clavis portam, sic pandit Epistola pectus ;
Clauditur Hæc cera, clauditur illa sera.*

‘ As keys do open chests,
So letters open breasts.’

Before closing this sketch, Howell’s *Instructions for Foreign Travel* demands a note of special attention. It abounds with discursive allusions and fine passages that go interwoven with the author’s ‘instructions,’ that certainly show Howell at his very best. One such passage we must quote. After summing up the advantages that accrue to the traveller, he comes to the following striking conclusion : ‘ All this is but vanity and superficial knowledge, unless the inward man be bettered hereby ; unless by seeing and perusing the volume of the *great* world, one learn to know the *little*, which is himself, unless one learn to govern and check the passions, our domestic enemies, than which nothing can conduce more to gentleness of mind, to elegance of manners, and solid wisdom. But principally, unless by surveying and admiring his works abroad, one improve himself in the knowledge of his Creator, *præ quo quisquiliæ cætera* ; in

comparison whereof the best of sublunary blessings are but baubles, and this indeed, this *Unum necessarium*, should be the centre to which *Travel* should tend.'

The present editor wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the kind assistance of his friends Mr. A. H. Bullen and Mr. F. W. Waldock. To secure as perfect a text as possible, this reprint has been collated with four various editions, and in all doubtful passages special references have been made to the *editio princeps*, with the result that several misreadings that had become stereotyped have been corrected.

W. H. BENNETT.

July, 1890.

DEDICATION.

To His Majesty King Charles the First.

Sir,

These Letters address'd (most of them) to your best degrees of subjects, do as so many lines drawn from the circumference to the centre, all meet in your Majesty; who as the law styles you the fountain of honour and grace, so you should be the centre of our happiness. If your Majesty vouchsafe them a gracious aspect, they may all prove letters of credit, if not credential letters, which sovereign princes use only to authorize. They venture to go abroad into the vast ocean of the world as letters of mart, to try their fortunes; and your Majesty being the greatest Lord of sea under heaven, is fittest to protect them; and then they will not fear any human power. Moreover, as this royal protection secures them from all danger, so it will

infinitely conduce to the prosperity of their voyage, and bring them to safe port with rich returns.

Nor would these letters be so familiar, as to presume upon so high a patronage, were not many of them records of your own royal actions. And 'tis well known, that letters can treasure up, and transmit matters of State to posterity, with as much faith, and be as authentic registers, and safe repositories of truth as any story whatsoever.

This brings them to lie prostrate at your feet, with their Author, who is, Sir, your Majesty's most loyal subject and servant,

J. HOWELL.

EPISTOLÆ HO-ELIANÆ :

BEING THE FAMILIAR LETTERS OF
JAMES HOWELL.

Book I.

SECTION I.

To Sir J. S. at Leeds Castle.

SIR,—It was a quaint difference the ancients did put 'twixt a letter and an oration ; that the one should be attir'd like a woman, the other like a man : the latter of the two is allowed large side robes, as long periods, parentheses, similes, examples, and other parts of rhetorical flourishes : but a letter or epistle should be short-coated, and closely couch'd ; a hungerlin¹ becomes a letter more handsomely than a gown. Indeed we should

¹ A short, furred coat. So called from its Hungarian origin.

write as we speak: and that's a true familiar letter which expresseth one's mind, as if he were discoursing with the party to whom he writes, in succinct and short terms. The tongue and the pen are both of them interpreters of the mind; but I hold the pen to be the more faithful of the two. The tongue, *in udo posita*, being seated in a moist slippery place, may fail and falter in her sudden extemporal expressions; but the pen having a greater advantage of premeditation, is not so subject to error, and leaves things behind it upon firm and authentic record. Now letters, tho' they be capable of any subject, yet commonly they are either narratory, objurgatory, consolatory, monitory, or congratulatory. The first consists of relations, the second of reprehensions, the third of comfort, the last two of counsel and joy. There are some who in lieu of letters write homilies, they preach when they should epistolize. There are others that turn them to tedious tractates; this is to make letters degenerate from their true nature. Some modern authors there are who have exposed their letters to the world, but most

of them, I mean among your Latin epistolizers, go freighted with mere Bartholomew ware, with trite and trivial phrases only, listed with pedantic shreds of school-boy verses. Others there are among our next transmarine neighbours eastward, who write in their own language, but their style is so soft and easy, that their letters may be said to be like bodies of loose flesh without sinews, they have neither joints of art, nor arteries in them; they have a kind of simpering and lank hectic expressions made up of a bombast of words, and finical, affected compliments only: I cannot well away with such sleazy stuff, with such cobweb-compositions, where there is no strength of matter, nothing for the reader to carry away with him, that may enlarge the notions of his soul. One shall hardly find an apothegm, example, simile, or any thing of philosophy, history, or solid knowledge, or as much as one new created phrase, in a hundred of them: and to draw any observations out of them, were as if one went about to distil cream out of froth; inso-much that it may be said of them, what was

said of the Echo, 'That she is a mere sound, and nothing else.'

I return you your Balzac¹ by this bearer: and when I found those letters, wherein he is so familiar with his King,² so flat; and those to Richelieu, so puff'd with profane hyperboles, and larded up and down with such gross flatteries, with others besides, which he sends up and down the world for discovery of the crazy condition of his body, I forbore him further. So I am—Your most affectionate servitor,

J. H.

Westminster, 25 July, 1625.

II.

To my Father upon my first going beyond sea.

SIR,—I should be much wanting to myself, and to that obligation of duty, the law of God and his handmaid Nature hath imposed upon me, if I should not acquaint you with the course and quality of my affairs and

¹ The 'Familiar Letters' of Jean L. G. de Balzac.

² Louis XIII.

fortunes, specially at this time, that I am upon point of crossing the seas to eat my bread abroad. Nor is it the common relation of a son that only induc'd me hereunto, but that most indulgent and costly care you have been pleased (in so extraordinary a manner) to have had of my breeding (tho' but one child of fifteen) by placing me in a choice methodical school¹ (so far distant from your dwelling) under a learned (tho' lashing) Master ; and by transplanting me thence to Oxford, to be graduated ; and so holding me still up by the chin, until I could swim without bladders. This patrimony of liberal education you have been pleased to endow me withal, I now carry along with me abroad, as a sure inseparable treasure ; nor do I feel it any burden or encumbrance unto me at all : and what danger soever my person, or other things I have about me, do incur, yet I do not fear the losing of this, either by shipwreck, or pirates at sea, nor by robbers, or fire, or any other casualty ashore : and at my return to England, I hope at least-wise I shall do my endeavour, that you may

¹ The Free School of Hereford.

find this patrimony improved somewhat to your comfort.

The main of my employment is from that gallant knight, Sir Robert Mansell, who, with my Lord of Pembroke, and divers other of the prime Lords of the Court, have got the sole patent of making all sorts of glass with pit-coal, only to save those huge proportions of wood which were consumed formerly in the glass furnaces: and this business being of that nature, that the workmen are to be had from Italy, and the chief materials from Spain, France, and other foreign countries: there is need of an agent abroad for this use; (and better than I have offered their service in this kind) so that I believe I shall have employment in all these countries before I return.

Had I continued still Steward of the Glass-house in Broad-street, where Captain Francis Bacon hath succeeded me, I should in a short time have melted away to nothing amongst those hot Venetians, finding myself too green for such a charge; therefore it hath pleased God to dispose of me now to a condition more

suitable to my years, and that will, I hope, prove more advantageous to my future fortunes.

In this my peregrination, if I happen, by some accident, to be disappointed of that allowance I am to subsist by, I must make my address to you, for I have no other rendezvous to flee unto; but it shall not be, unless in case of great indigence.

Touching the news of the time: Sir George Villiers,¹ the new favourite, tapers up apace, and grows strong at Court: his predecessor the Earl of Somerset² hath got a lease of ninety years for his life, and so hath his articulate Lady,³ called so, for articling against the frigidity and impotence of her former Lord.⁴ She was afraid that Coke, the Lord Chief Justice (who had used such extraordinary art and industry in discovering all the circumstances of the poisoning of Overbury⁵), would have made

¹ Afterwards created Duke of Buckingham.
² Robert Carr. ³ Frances Howard, Countess of Essex. ⁴ The third Earl of Essex. ⁵ Sir Thomas Overbury, poisoned in the Tower of London at the instigation of the Countess of Essex, in revenge for his opposition to her marriage with his friend, the Earl of Somerset, then Earl of Rochester.

white broth of them, but that the prerogative kept them from the pot: yet the subservient instruments, the lesser flies, could not break through, but lay entangled in the cobweb; amongst others Mistress Turner, the first inventress of yellow starch, was executed in a cobweb lawn ruff of that colour at Tyburn: and with her I believe that yellow starch, which so much disfigured our nation, and rendered them so ridiculous and fantastic, will receive its funeral. Sir Gervase Elways Lieutenant of the Tower, was made a notable example of justice and terror to all officers of trust: for being accessory, and that in a passive way only, to the murder, yet he was hanged on Tower-hill: and the caveat is very remarkable which he gave upon the gallows: 'That people should be very cautious how they make vows to Heaven, for the breach of them seldom passes without a judgment, whereof he was a most ruthless example: for being in the Low Countries, and much given to gaming, he once made a solemn vow (which he brake afterwards), that if he play'd above such a sum, he might

be hanged.' My Lord (William) of Pembroke did a most noble act, like himself; for the King having given him all Sir Gervase Elways' estate, which came to above a thousand pound *per an.*, he freely bestowed it on the widow and her children.

The latter end of this week I am to go a ship-board, and first for the Low Countries. I humbly pray your blessing may accompany me in these my travels by land and sea, with a continuance of your prayers, which will be as so many good gales to blow me to safe port; for I have been taught, that the parents' benedictions contribute very much, and have a kind of prophetic virtue, to make the child prosperous. In this opinion I shall ever rest—Your dutiful son, J. H.

Broad-street, in London, this 1 *March*, 1618.

III.

*To Dr. Francis Mansell, since Principal of
Jesus College in Oxford.*

SIR,—Being to take leave of England, and to launch out into the world abroad, to

breathe foreign air awhile, I thought it very handsome, and an act well becoming me, to take my leave also of you, and of my dearly honoured mother Oxford. Otherwise both of you might have just grounds to exhibit a bill of complaint, or rather a protest against me, and cry me up; *you* for a forgetful friend; *she* for an ungrateful son, if not some spurious issue. To prevent this, I salute you both together: you with the best of my most candid affections: her with my most dutiful observance, and thankfulness for the milk she pleased to give me in that exuberance, had I taken it in that measure she offered it me while I slept in her lap: yet that little I have sucked, I carry with me now abroad, and hope that this course of life will help to concoct it to a greater advantage, having opportunity, by the nature of my employment, to study men as well as books. The small time I supervis'd the Glass-house, I got among those Venetians some smatterings of the Italian tongue, which besides the little I have, you know, of school-language, is all the preparatives I have made for travel. I

am to go this week down to Gravesend, and so embark for Holland. I have got a warrant from the Lords of the Council to travel for three years any where, Rome and St. Omer excepted. I pray let me retain some room, though never so little, in your thoughts, during the time of this our separation; and let our souls meet sometimes by intercourse of letters: I promise you that yours shall receive the best entertainment I can make them, for I love you dearly, dearly well, and value your friendship at a very high rate. So with appreciation of as much happiness to you at home, as I shall desire to accompany me abroad, I rest ever—Your friend to serve you, J. H.

London, 20 *March*, 1618.

IV.

To Sir James Crofts, Knight, at St. Osith.

SIR,—I could not shake hands with England, without kissing your hands also; and because, in regard of your distance now from London, I cannot do it in person, I send this paper for my deputy.

The news that keeps greatest noise here now, is the return of Sir Walter Raleigh from his mine of gold, in Guiana, the south parts of America, which at first was like to be such a hopeful boon voyage, but it seems that that golden mine is proved a mere Chimera, an imaginary airy mine; and indeed his majesty had never any other conceit of it: but what will not one in captivity (as Sir Walter was) promise, to regain his freedom? Who would not promise, not only mines, but mountains of gold, for liberty? And 'tis pity such a knowing well-weigh'd knight had not had a better fortune; for the *Destiny* (I mean that brave ship which he built himself of that name, that carry'd him thither,) is like to prove a *fatal destiny* to him, and to some of the rest of those gallant adventurers which contributed for the setting forth of thirteen ships more, who were most of them his kinsmen and younger brothers, being led into the said expedition by a general conceit the world had of the wisdom of Sir Walter Raleigh; and many of these are like to make shipwreck of their estates by this voyage.

Sir Walter landed at Plymouth, whence he thought to make an escape ; and some say he hath tampered with his body by physic, to make him look sickly, that he may be the more pitied, and permitted to lie in his own house. Count Gondamar, the Spanish Ambassador, speaks high language ; and sending lately to desire audience of his majesty, he said he had but one word to tell him : his majesty wondering what might be delivered in one word. When he came before him, he said only, *Pirates, Pirates, Pirates*, and so departed.

'Tis true that he protested against this Voyage before, and that it could not be but for some predatory design : and that if it be as I hear, I fear it will go very ill with Sir Walter, and that Gondamar will never give him over, till he hath his head off his shoulders ; which may quickly be done, without any new arraignment, by virtue of the old sentence that lies still dormant against him, which he could never get off by pardon, notwithstanding that he mainly laboured in it before he went : but his majesty

could never be brought to it, for he said he would keep this as a curb to hold him within the bounds of his commission, and the good behaviour.

Gondamar cries out, that he hath broke the sacred peace 'twixt the two kingdoms; that he hath fired and plundered Santo Thoma, a colony the Spaniards had planted with so much blood, near under the line, which made it prove such hot service unto him, and where, besides others, he lost his eldest son in the action. And could they have preserv'd the magazine of tobacco only, besides other things in that town, something might have been had to countervail the charge of the voyage. Gondamar allegeth farther, that the enterprize of the mine failing, he propounded to the rest of his fleet to go and intercept some of the plate galleons, with other designs which would have drawn after them apparent acts of hostility; and so demands justice: besides other disasters which fell out upon the dashing of the first design, Captain Remish,¹ who was the main instrument for dis-

¹ An evident misprint for Keymis.

covery of the mine, pistoled himself in a desperate mood of discontent in his cabin, in the *Convertine*.

This return of Sir Walter Raleigh from Guiana, puts me in mind of a facetious tale I read lately in Italian (for I have a little of that language already) how Alphonso King of Naples sent a Moor, who had been his captive a long time, to Barbary, with a considerable sum of money to buy horses, and return by such a time. Now there was about the King a kind of buffoon or jester, who had a table-book or journal, wherein he was used to register any absurdity, or impertinence, or merry passage that happened upon the Court. That day the Moor was dispatched for Barbary, the said jester waiting upon the King at supper, the King call'd for his journal, and asked what he had observ'd that day; thereupon he produc'd his table-book, and among other things, he read how Alphonso King of Naples had sent Beltram the Moor, who had been a long time his prisoner, to Morocco (his own country) with so many thousand crowns, to buy horses. The King asked him why he

inserted that; 'because,' said he, 'I think he will never come back to be a prisoner again, and so you have lost both man and money.' 'But if he do come, then your jest is marr'd,' quoth the King: 'No, Sir; for if he return I will blot out your name, and put him in for a fool.'

The application is easy and obvious. But the world wonders extremely that so great a wise man as Sir Walter Raleigh would return to cast himself upon so inevitable a rock, as I fear he will; and much more, that such choice men, and so great a power of ships, should all come home and do nothing.

The letter you sent to my father, I conveyed safely the last week to Wales. I am this week, by God's help, for the Netherlands, and then I think for France. If in this my foreign employment I may be any way serviceable unto you, you know what power you have to dispose of me, for I honour you in a very high degree, and will live and die—
Your humble and ready servant, J. H.

London, 28 *March*, 1618.

V.

*To my Brother, after Dr. Howell, and now
Bishop of Bristol ; from Amsterdam.*

BROTHER,—I am newly landed at Amsterdam, and it is the first foreign earth I have ever set foot upon. I was pitifully sick all the voyage, for the weather was rough, and the wind untowards ; and at the mouth of the Texel we were surprised by a furious tempest, so that the ship was like to split upon some of those old stumps of trees wherewith that river is full ; for in ages past, as the skipper told me, there grew a fair forest in that channel where the Texel makes now her bed. Having been so rocked and shaken at sea, when I came ashore, I began to incline to Copernicus his opinion, which hath got such a sway lately in the world, *viz*: that the earth, as well as the rest of her fellow-elements, is in perpetual motion, for she seemed so to me a good while after I had landed. He that observes the site and position of this country, will never hereafter

doubt the truth of that philosophical problem which keeps so great a noise in the schools, *viz.*: that the sea is higher than the earth, because, as I sailed along these coasts, I visibly found it true ; for the ground here, which is all 'twixt marsh and moorish, lies not only level, but to the apparent sight of the eye far lower than the sea ; which made the Duke of Alva say, ' that the inhabitants of this country were the nearest neighbours to hell (the greatest abyss) of any people upon earth,' because they dwell lowest. Most of that ground they tread, is pluck'd, as it were, out of the very jaws of Neptune, who is afterwards penned out by high dikes, which are preserved with incredible charge ; insomuch that the chief Dike-Grave here, is one of the greatest officers of trust in all the province, it being in his power to turn the whole country into a salt-lough when he list, and so to put Hans to swim for his life ; which makes it to be one of the chiefest parts of his litany, *From the Sea, the Spaniard, and the Devil, the Lord deliver me.* I need not tell you who preserves him from the last, but from the

Spaniard, his best friend is the sea itself, notwithstanding that he fears him as an enemy another way: for the sea stretching himself here into divers arms, and meeting with some of those fresh rivers that descend from Germany to disgorge themselves into him through these provinces, most of their towns are thereby encompassed with water, which by sluices they can contract or dilate as they list. This makes their towns inaccessible, and out of the reach of cannon; so that water may be said to be one of their best fences, otherwise I believe they had not been able to have born up so long against the gigantic power of Spain.

This city of Amsterdam, tho' she be a great staple of news, yet I can impart none unto you at this time, I will defer that till I come to the Hague.

I am lodg'd here at one Mons. de la Cluze, not far from the Exchange, to make an introduction into the French: because I believe I shall steer my course hence next to the country where that language is spoken; but I think I shall sojourn here about two months

longer, therefore I pray direct your letters accordingly, or any other you have for me. One of the prime comforts of a traveller is to receive letters from his friends, they beget new spirits in him, and present joyful objects to his fancy, when his mind is clouded sometimes with fogs of melancholy: therefore I pray make me as happy as often as your conveniency will serve with yours: you may send or deliver them to Captain Bacon at the Glass-house, who will see them safely sent.

So my dear brother, I pray God bless us both, and send us after this large distance, a joyful meeting.—Your loving brother,

J. H.

Amsterdam, 1 *April*, 1619.

VI.

To Dan. Caldwell, Esq.; from Amsterdam.

MY DEAR DAN.,—I have made your friendship so necessary unto me for the contentment of my life, that happiness itself would be but a kind of infelicity without it: it is as needful to me. as fire and water, as the very air I

take in, and breathe out; it is to me not only *necessitudo*, but *necessitas*: therefore I pray let me enjoy it in that fair proportion, that I desire to return unto you, by way of correspondence and retaliation. Our first league of love, you know, was contracted among the muses in Oxford; for no sooner was I matriculated to her, but I was adopted to you; I became her son, and your friend, at one time: you know I follow'd you then to London, where our love receiv'd confirmation in the Temple, and elsewhere. We are now far asunder, for no less than a sea severs us, and that no narrow one, but the German Ocean. Distance sometimes endears friendship, and absence sweetneth it; it much enhanceth the value of it, and makes it more precious. Let this be verify'd in us; let that love which formerly us'd to be nourish'd by personal communication and the lips, be now fed by letters; let the pen supply the office of the tongue: letters have a strong operation, they have a kind of art like embraces to mingle souls, and make them meet tho' millions of paces asunder; by them we may

converse, and know how it fares with each other, as it were by intercourse of spirits. Therefore among your civil speculations, I pray let your thoughts sometimes reflect on me (your absent self), and wrap those thoughts in paper, and so send them me over; I promise you they shall be very welcome, I shall embrace and hug them with my best affections.

Commend me to Tom Bowyer, and enjoin him the like: I pray be no niggard in distributing my love plentifully among our friends at the Inns of Court. Let Jack Toldervy have my kind commends, with this caveat, that the pot which goes often to the water, comes home crack'd at last: therefore I hope he will be careful how he makes the 'Fleece' in Cornhill his thoroughfare too often. So may my dear Daniel live happy and love his

J. H.

Amsterdam, 10 *April*, 1619.

VII.

To my Father ; from Amsterdam.

SIR,—I am lately arriv'd in Holland in a good plight of health, and continue yet in this town of Amsterdam, a town I believe, that there are few her fellows, being from a mean fishing-dorp, come in a short revolution of time, by a monstrous increase of commerce and navigation, to be one of the greatest marts of Europe. 'Tis admirable to see what various sorts of buildings, and new fabrics are now here erecting everywhere ; not in houses only, but in whole streets and suburbs ; so that 'tis thought she will in a short time double her proportion in bigness.

I am lodg'd in a Frenchman's house, who is one of the deacons of our English Brownists'¹ church here ; 'tis not far from the synagogue of Jews, who have free and open exercise of their religion here. I believe in this street where I lodge, there be well near as many religions as there be houses ; for one neigh-

¹ The followers of Robert Brown, the Separatist.

bour knows not, nor cares not much what religion the other is of; so that the number of conventicles exceed the number of churches here. And let this country call itself as long as it will the United Provinces one way, I am persuaded in this point, there's no place so disunited.

The Dog and Rag-Market is hard by, where every Sunday morning there is a kind of public mart for those commodities, notwithstanding their precise observance of the Sabbath.

Upon Saturday last I happen'd to be in a gentleman's company, who shew'd me as I walk'd along in the streets, a long-bearded old Jew of the tribe of Aaron; when the other Jews met him, they fell down, and kiss'd his foot: this was that Rabbi, with whom our countryman Broughton¹ had such a dispute.

This City, notwithstanding her huge trade, is far inferior to London for populousness; and this I infer out of their weekly bills of mortality, which come not at most but to

¹ Hugh Broughton (1549-1612), the learned Hebrew scholar and controversialist.

fifty or thereabout; whereas in London, the ordinary number is betwixt two and three hundred, one week with another. Nor are there such wealthy men in this town as in London; for, by reason of the generality of commerce, the banks, adventures, the common shares and stocks which most have in the Indian and other companies, the wealth doth diffuse itself here in a strange kind of equality, not one of the burghers being exceeding rich, or exceeding poor: insomuch, that I believe our four and twenty Aldermen may buy a hundred of the richest men in Amsterdam. It is a rare thing to meet with a beggar here, as rare as to see a horse, they say, upon the streets of Venice; and this is held to be one of their best pieces of Government: for besides the strictness of their laws against mendicants, they have hospitals of all sorts for young and old, both for the relief of the one, and the employment of the other; so that there is no object here to exercise any act of charity upon. They are here very neat, tho' not so magnificent in their buildings, especially in their frontispieces and first rooms; and for

cleanliness, they may serve for a pattern to all people. They will presently dress half a dozen dishes of meat, without any noise or shew at all: for if one goes to the kitchen, there will be scarce appearance of anything but a few cover'd pots upon a turf fire, which is their prime fuel; after dinner they fall a scouring of those pots, so that the outside will be as bright as the inside, and the kitchen suddenly so clean, as if no meat had been dress'd there a month before. They have neither well or fountain, or any spring of fresh water, in or about all this city, but their fresh water is brought to them by boats; besides, they have cisterns to receive the rain-water, which they much use: so that my laundress bringing my linen to me one day, and I commending the whiteness of them, she answer'd, 'that they must needs be white and fair, for they were washed in *aqua Cœlestis*,' meaning sky-water.

'Twere cheap living here, were it not for the monstrous accises¹ which are impos'd upon all sorts of commodities, both for belly

¹ Excise duties.

and back ; for the retailer pays the States almost the one moiety as much as he paid for the commodity at first : nor doth any murmur at it, because it goes not to any favourite or private purse, but to preserve them from the Spaniard, their common enemy, as they term him ; so that the saying is truly verify'd here, 'Defend me, and spend me.' With this accise principally, they maintain all their armies by sea and land, with their garrisons at home and abroad, both here and in the Indies ; and defray all other public charges besides.

I shall hence shortly for France, and in my way take most of the prime towns of Holland and Zealand, especially Leyden (the University) where I shall sojourn some days. So humbly craving a continuance of your blessing and prayers, I rest—Your dutiful son,

J. H.

1 *May*, 1619.

VIII.

To Dr. Tho. Prichard, at Jesus College in Oxford; from Leyden.

SIR,—It is the royal prerogative of love, not to be confin'd to that small local compass which circumscribes the body, but to make his sallies and progresses abroad, to find out and enjoy his desir'd object, under what region soever. Nor is it the vast gulf of Neptune, or any distance of place, or difference of clime, can bar him of this privilege. I never found the experiment hereof so sensibly, nor felt the comfort of it so much, as since I shook hands with England. For tho' you be in Oxford, and I at Leyden; albeit you be upon an island, and I now upon the Continent, (tho' the lowest part of Europe) yet those swift postillions, my thoughts, find you out daily, and bring you unto me. I behold you often in my chamber, and in my bed; you eat, you drink, you sit down, and walk with me; and my fantasy enjoys you often in my sleep, when all my senses are lock'd up, and my soul

wanders up and down the world, sometimes thro' pleasant fields and gardens, sometimes thro' odd uncouth places, over mountains and broken confus'd buildings. As my love to you doth thus exercise his power, so I desire yours to me may not be idle, but rous'd up sometimes to find me out, and summon me to attend you in Jesus College.

I am now here in Leyden, the only Academy, besides Franeker, of all the United Provinces. Here are nations of all sorts, but the Germans swarm more than any. To compare their university to yours, were to cast New-Inn in counter-scale with Christ-Church College, or the Alms-houses on Tower-hill to Sutton's Hospital.¹ Here are no colleges at all, God-wot, (but one for the Dutch) nor scarce the face of a university, only there are general schools where the sciences are read by several professors, but all the students are oppidans. A small time and less learning will suffice to make one a graduate; nor are those formalities of habits, and other decencies here, as

¹ Now known as the Charter-House.

with you, much less those exhibitions and supports for scholars, with other encouragements; insomuch, that the Oxonians and Cantabrigians—*Bona si sua norint*, were they sensible of their own felicity, are the happiest Academians on earth: yet Apollo hath a strong influence here; and as Cicero said of them of Athens, *Athenis pingue cælum, tenuia ingenia*, ‘The Athenians had a thick air, and thin wits’; so I may say of these Lugdunensians, they have a gross air, but thin subtle wits (some of them), witness else Heinsius, Grotius, Arminius, and Baudius. Of the two last I was told a tale, that Arminius meeting Baudius one day disguis’d with drink (wherewith he would be often) he told him, *Tu Baudi dedecoras as nostram Academiam. Et tu Armini nostram Religionem*: ‘Thou Baudius disgracest our university. And thou Arminius our religion.’ The heaven here has always some cloud in his countenance, and from this grossness and spissitude of air proceeds the slow nature of the inhabitants; yet this slowness is recompens’d with another benefit, it makes them

patient and constant, as in all other actions, so in their studies and speculations, tho' they use :

—*Crassos transire dies, lucemque palustrem.*

I pray impart my love liberally amongst my friends in Oxford, and when you can make truce with your more serious meditations, bestow a thought, drawn into a few lines, upon

—Your

J. H.

Leyden, 30 *May*, 1619.

IX.

*To Mr. Richard Altham, at his Chamber in
Grays-Inn.*

DEAR SIR,—Tho' you be now a good way out of my reach, yet you are not out of my remembrance ; you are still within the horizon of my love. Now the horizon of love is large and spacious, it is as boundless as that of the imagination ; and where the imagination rangeth, the memory is still busy to usher in, and present the desired object it fixes

upon. It is love that sets them both on work, and may be said to be the highest sphere whence they receive their motion. Thus you appear to me often in these foreign travels; and that you may believe me the better, I send you these lines as my ambassadors (and ambassadors must not lie) to inform you accordingly, and to salute you.

I desire to know how you like 'Plowden.'¹ I heard it often said, that there's no study requires patience and constancy more than the Common Law; for it is a good while before one comes to any known perfection in it, and consequently to any gainful practice. This (I think) made Jack Chaundler throw away his 'Littleton,'² like him that when he could not catch the hare, said, 'A pox upon her, she is but dry tough meat, let her go.' It is not so with you, for I know you are of that disposition, that when you mind a thing, nothing can frighten you in making constant pursuit after it, till you have obtain'd it. For if the

¹ The 'Commentaries' of Edmund Plowden.

² Sir Thomas Littleton on 'Tenures.'

Mathematics, with their crabbedness and intricacy, could not deter you, but that you waded thro' the very midst of them, and arriv'd to so excellent a perfection ; I believe it is not in the power of 'Plowden' to dastardize or cow your spirits, until you have overcome him, at leastwise have so much of him as will serve your turn. I know you were always a quick and pressing disputant in Logic and Philosophy ; which makes me think your genius is fit for Law, (as the Baron your excellent father was) for a good logician makes always a good lawyer. And hereby one may give a strong conjecture of the aptness or inaptitude of one's capacity to that study and profession ; and you know as well as I, that logicians who went under the name of sophisters, were the first lawyers that ever were.

I shall be upon uncertain removes hence, until I come to Rouen in France, and there I mean to cast anchor a good while ; I shall expect your letters there with impatience. I pray present my service to Sir James Altham, and to my good lady your mother, with the rest to whom it is due in Bishopsgate-street,

and elsewhere ; so I am yours in the best
degree of friendship,

J. H.

Hague, 30 *May*, 1619.

X.

To Sir James Crofts ; from the Hague.

SIR,—The same observance that a father may challenge of his child, the like you may claim of me, in regard of the extraordinary care you have been pleas'd to have always, since I had the happiness to know you, of the course of my fortunes.

I am now newly come to the Hague, the Court of the six (and almost seven) Confederated Provinces ; the Council of State, with the Prince of Orange, makes his firm residence here, unless he be upon a march, and in motion for some design abroad. This Prince (Maurice) was cast in a mould suitable to the temper of this people : he is slow and full of wariness, and not without a mixture of fear ; I do not mean a pusillanimous, but politic fear : he is the most constant, in the quotidian course and carriage of his life, of any that I have ever heard or read of ; for whosoever knows

the customs of the Prince of Orange, may tell what he is doing here every hour of the day, tho' he be in Constantinople. In the morning he awakes about six in summer, and seven in winter ; the first thing he does, he sends one of his grooms or pages to see how the wind sits, and he wears or leaves off his waistcoat accordingly ; then he is about an hour dressing himself, and about a quarter of an hour in his closet : then comes in the secretary, and if he hath any private or public letters to write, or any other dispatches to make, he does it before he stirs from his chamber ; then comes he abroad, and goes to his stables, if it be no sermon-day, to see some of his gentlemen or pages (of whose breeding he is very careful) ride the great horse. He is very accessible to any that hath business with him, and sheweth a winning kind of familiarity, for he will shake hands with the meanest boor of the country, and he seldom hears any commander or gentleman with his hat on. He dines punctually about twelve, and his table is free for all comers, but none under the degree of a captain uses to sit down at it.

After dinner he stays in the room a good while, and then any one may accost him, and tell his tale ; then he retires to his chamber, where he answers all petitions that were deliver'd him in the morning ; and towards the evening, if he goes not to council, which is seldom, he goes either to make some visits, or to take the air abroad. And according to this constant method he passes his life.

There are great stirs like to arise 'twixt the Bohemians and the elected King the Emperor ;¹ and they are come already to that height, that they consult of deposing him, and to choose some Protestant prince to be their king. Some talk of the Duke of Saxony, others of the Palsgrave ;² I believe the States here would rather be for the latter, in regard of conformity of religion, the other being a Lutheran.

I could not find in Amsterdam a large 'Ortelius'³ in French to send you ; but from Antwerp I will not fail to serve you.

¹ Ferdinand II., Emperor of the West.

² Frederick V., Elector Palatine, the husband of the Princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of James I.

³The atlas of Abraham Ortel, a learned Dutch geographer of that time.

So wishing you all happiness and health, and that the sun may make many progresses thro' the Zodiac, before those comely gray hairs of yours go to the grave, I rest—Your very humble servant,

J. H.

3 June, 1619.

XI.

To Captain Francis Bacon at the Glass-house in Broad-street.

SIR,—My last to you was from Amsterdam, since which time I have travers'd the prime parts of the United Provinces ; and I am now in Zealand, being newly come to this town of Middelburg, which is much crest-fallen since the staple of English cloth was remov'd hence, as is Flushing also, her next neighbour, since the departure of the English garrison. A good intelligent gentleman told me the manner how Flushing and the Brill, our two cautionery towns¹ here, were redeem'd, which was thus : the nine hundred and odd soldiers at Flushing, and the Rammakins hard by, being many weeks without their pay, they

¹ Held as security for money advanced to the Dutch by Elizabeth, and given up by James I. for one-third of their value.

borrow'd divers sums of money of the States of this town, who finding no hopes of supplies from England, advice was sent to the States-General at the Hague ; they consulting with Sir Ralph Winwood, our ambassador (who was a favourable instrument to them in this business, as also in the match with the Palsgrave) sent instructions to the Lord Caron,¹ to acquaint the Earl of Suffolk (then Lord Treasurer) herewith ; and in case they could find no satisfaction there, to make his address to the King himself, which Caron did. His majesty being much incens'd that his subjects and soldiers should starve for want of their pay in a foreign country, sent for the Lord Treasurer, who drawing his majesty aside, and telling how empty his exchequer was, his majesty told the ambassador, that if his masters the States would pay the money they ow'd him upon those towns, he would deliver them up. The ambassador returning the next day, to know whether his majesty persisted in the same resolution, in regard that at his

¹ Noel de Caron, Dutch ambassador at the Court of St. James's.

former audience he perceiv'd him to be a little transported ; his majesty answer'd, that he knew the States of Holland to be his good friends and confederates, both in point of religion and policy ; therefore he apprehended not the least fear of any difference that should fall out between them, in contemplation whereof, if they desir'd to have their towns again, he would willingly surrender them. Hereupon the States made up the sum presently, which came in convenient time, for it serv'd to defray the expenseful progress he made to Scotland the summer following. When that money was lent by Queen Elizabeth, it was articled, that interest should be paid upon interest ; and besides, that for every gentleman who should lose his life in the States' service, they should make good five pounds to the Crown of England : all this his majesty remitted, and only took the principal ; and this was done in requital of that princely entertainment, and great presents, which my Lady Elizabeth had receiv'd in divers of their towns as she pass'd to Heidelberg.

The bearer hereof is Sig. Antonio Miotti,

who was master of a crystal-glass furnace here a long time; and, as I have it by good intelligence, he is one of the ablest and most knowing men for the guidance of a glass-work in Christendom: therefore, according to my instructions, I send him over, and hope to have done Sir Robert good service thereby. So with my kind respects unto you, and my most humble service where you know it is due, I rest—Your affectionate servant,

6 June, 1619.

J. H.

XII.

To Sir James Crofts; from Antwerp.

SIR,—I presume that my last to you from the Hague came safe to hand. I am now come to a more cheerful country, and amongst a people somewhat more vigorous and metal'd, being not so heavy as the Hollander, or homely as they of Zealand. This goodly ancient city methinks looks like a disconsolate widow, or rather some superannuated virgin, that hath lost her lover, being almost quite bereft of that flourishing commerce wherewith before the falling off the rest of the Provinces

from Spain she abounded, to the envy of all other cities and marts of Europe. There are few places this side the Alps better built, and so well streeated as this; and none at all so well girt with bastions and ramparts, which in some parts are so spacious, that they usually take the air in coaches upon the very walls, which are beautified with divers rows of trees and pleasant walks. The citadel here, tho' it be an addition to the stateliness and strength of the town, yet it serves as a shrewd curb unto her; which makes her champ upon the bit, and foam sometimes with anger, but she cannot help it. The tumults¹ in Bohemia now grow hotter and hotter; they write how the great Council at Prague fell to such a hurli-burly, that some of those senators who adher'd to the Emperor were thrown out at the windows, where some were maim'd, some broke their necks. I am shortly to bid farewell to the Netherlands, and to bend my course for France, where I shall be most ready to entertain any commands of yours. So may

¹ Respecting the succession of the Crown of Bohemia to Ferdinand II.

all health and happiness attend you, according to the wishes of—Your obliged servant,

5 July, 1619.

J. H.

XIII.

To Dr. Tho. Prichard, at Oxford; from Rouen.

I HAVE now taken firm footing in France, and tho' France be one of the chiefest climates of compliment, yet I can use none towards you, but tell you in plain downright language, that in the list of those friends I left behind me in England, you are one of the prime rank, one whose name I have mark'd with the whitest stone. If you have gain'd such a place amongst the choicest friends of mine, I hope you will put me somewhere amongst yours, tho' I but fetch up the rear, being contented to be the *infima species*, the lowest in the predicament of your friends.

I shall sojourn a good while in this city of Rouen, therefore I pray make me happy with the comfort of your letters, which I shall expect with a longing impatience. I pray send me ample advertisement of your welfare, and of the rest of your friends, as well upon the

banks of Isis, as amongst the British mountains. I am but a fresh-man yet in France, therefore I can send you no news but that all is here quiet, and 'tis no ordinary news that the French should be quiet. But some think this calm will not last long; for the Queen-Mother¹ (late Regent) is discontented, being restrain'd from coming to the Court, or to the city of Paris; and the tragical death of her favourite (and foster-brother), the late Marquis of Ancre, lieth yet in her stomach undigested: she hath the Duke of Epernon, and divers other potent princes, that would be strongly at her devotion (as 'tis thought) if she would stir. I pray present my service to Sir Eubule Thelwall, and send me word with what pace Jesus-College new walls go up. I will borrow my conclusion to you at this time of my countryman Owen:

*Uno non possum quantum te diligo versu
Dicere, si satis est Distichon, ecce duos.*

'I cannot in one verse my love declare;
If two will serve the turn, lo, here they are.'

Whereunto I will add this sirname anagram—Yours *whole*, J. HOWEL.

6 August, 1619.

¹ Marie de Médicis.

XIV.

To Dan. Caldwell Esq. ; from Rouen.

MY DEAR DAN,—When I came first to this town, amongst other objects of contentment which I found here, whereof there are variety, a letter of yours was brought to me, and 'twas a she-letter, for two more were enwomb'd in her body : she had an easy and quick deliverance of that twin ; but besides them, she was big and pregnant of divers sweet pledges, and lively evidences of your own love towards me, whereof I am as fond as any mother can be of her child. I shall endeavour to cherish and foster this dear love of yours with all the tenderness that can be, and warm it at the fuel of my best affections, to make it grow every day stronger and stronger, until it comes to the state of perfection ; because I know it is a true and real, it is no spurious or adulterated love. If I intend to be so indulgent and careful of yours, I hope you will not suffer mine to starve with you ; my love to you needs not much tending, for it is a lusty strong love, and will not easily miscarry.

I pray, when you write next, to send me a dozen pair of the best white kid-skin gloves the Royal-Exchange can afford; as also two pair of the purest white worsted stockings you can get of women's size, together with half a dozen of pair of knives. I pray send your man with them to Vacandary, the French post upon Tower-hill, who will bring them me safely. When I go to Paris, I shall send you some curiosities equivalent to these. I have here inclos'd return'd an answer to those two that came in yours, I pray see them safely deliver'd. My kind respects to your brother sergeant at Court, to all at Battersay or anywhere else, where you think my commendations may be placed.

No more at this time, but that I recommend you to the never-failing providence of God, desiring you to go on in nourishing still between us that love, which for my part,

No traverses of chance, of time, or fate,
Shall e'er extinguish till our lives' last date:
But, as the vine her lovely elm doth wire,
Grasp both our hearts, and flame with fresh desire.

—Yours J. H.

13 August, 1619.

XV.

To my Father ; from Rouen.

SIR,—Yours of the third of August came safe to hand in an enclos'd from my brother ; you may make easy conjecture how welcome it was unto me, and to what a height of comfort it rais'd my spirits, in regard it was the first I receiv'd from you since I cross'd the seas. I humbly thank you for the blessing you sent along with it.

I am now upon the fair continent of France, one of nature's choicest master-pieces ; one of Ceres' chiefest barns for corn ; one of Bacchus's prime wine-cellars, and of Neptune's best salt-pits ; a complete self-sufficient country, where there is rather a superfluity than defect of anything, either for necessity or pleasure, did the policy of the country correspond with the bounty of nature, in the equal distribution of the wealth amongst the inhabitants ; for I think there is not upon the earth a richer country, and poorer people. 'Tis true, England hath a good repute abroad for her fer-

tility, yet be our harvests never so kindly, and our crops never so plentiful, we have every year commonly some grain from thence, or from Dantzic, and other places, imported by the merchant: besides, there be many more heaths, commons, bleak barren hills, and waste grounds in England, by many degrees, than I find here; and I am sorry our country of Wales should give more instances hereof than any other part.

This province of Normandy, once an appendix of the Crown of England, tho' it want wine, yet it yields the King as much demesnes as any one of the rest; the lower Norman hath cyder for his common drink; and I visibly observed that they are more plump and replete in their bodies, and of a clearer complexion, than those that drink altogether wine. In this great city of Rouen there be many monuments of the English nation yet extant. In the outside of the highest steeple of the great church, there is the word GOD engrav'd in huge golden characters, every one almost as long as myself, to make them the more visible. In this steeple hangs also the greatest

bell of Christendom, call'd *d'Amboise*,¹ for it weighs near upon forty thousand pound weight. There is also here St. Ouen, the greatest sanctuary of the city, founded by one of our compatriots, as the name imports: this province is also subject to Wardships, and no other part of France besides; but whether the Conqueror translated that law to England from hence, or whether he sent it over from England hither, I cannot resolve you. There is a marvellous quick trade driven in this town, because of the great navigable river *Sequena* (the Seine), that runs hence to Paris, whereon there stands a strange bridge that ebbs and flows, that rises and falls with the river, it being made of boats, whereon coach and carts may pass over as well as men: besides, this is the nearest mercantile city that stands betwixt Paris and the sea.

My last to you was from the Low Countries, where I was in motion to and fro above four months; but I fear it miscarry'd, in regard you make no mention of it in yours.

¹ After Cardinal G. d'Amboise, who built a portion of the Cathedral in the early part of sixteenth century.

I begin more and more to have a sense of the sweetness and advantage of foreign travel. I pray, when you come to London, to find a time to visit Sir Robert, and acknowledge his great favours to me, and desire a continuance thereof, according as I shall endeavour to deserve them. So with my due and daily prayers for your health, and a speedy successful issue of all your law-businesses, I humbly crave your blessing, and rest—Your dutiful son, J. H.

7 September, 1619.

XVI.

To Capt. Francis Bacon; from Paris.

SIR,—I receiv'd two of yours in Rouen, with the bills of exchange there enclosed; and according to your directions I sent you those things which you wrote for.

I am now newly come to Paris, this huge magazine of men, the epitome of this large populous kingdom, and rendezvous of all foreigners. The structures here are indifferently fair, tho' the streets generally foul all the four seasons of the year; which I impute

first to the position of the city, being built upon an isle, (the Isle of France, made so by the branching and serpentine course of the river of Seine) and having some of her suburbs seated high, the filth runs down the channel, and settles in many places within the body of the city, which lies upon a flat ; as also for a world of coaches, carts, and horses of all sorts that go to and fro perpetually, so that sometimes one shall meet with a stop half a mile long of those coaches, carts, and horses, that can move neither forward nor backward, by reason of some sudden encounter of others coming a cross way ; so that oftentimes it will be an hour or two before they can disentangle. In such a stop the great Henry¹ was so fatally slain by Ravailiac. Hence comes it to pass, that this town (for Paris is a town, a city, and a university) is always dirty, and 'tis such a dirt, that by a perpetual motion is beaten into such black unctuous oil, that where it sticks no art can wash it off of some colours ; insomuch, that it may be no improper comparison to say that an ill name is like the *crot* (the dirt) of

¹ Henry IV.

Paris, which is indelible ; besides, the stain this dirt leaves, it gives also so strong a scent, that it may be smelt many miles off, if the wind be in one's face as he comes from the fresh air of the country : this may be one cause why the plague is always in some corner or other of this vast city, which may be call'd, as once Scythia was, *Vagina populorum*, or (as mankind was call'd by a great philosopher) a great mole-hill of ants : yet I believe this city is not so populous as she seems to be, for her form being round (as the whole kingdom is) the passengers wheel about, and meet oftener than they use to do in the long continued streets of London, which makes London appear less populous than she is indeed ; so that London for length, (tho' not for latitude) including Westminster, exceeds Paris, and hath in Michaelmas term more souls moving within her in all places. 'Tis under one hundred years that Paris is become so sumptuous and strong in buildings ; for her houses were mean, until a mine of white stone was discover'd hard by, which runs in a continued vein of earth, and is digg'd out with ease, being

soft, and is between a white clay and chalk as first; but being pulley'd up, with the open air, it receives a crusty kind of hardness, and so becomes perfect freestone; and before it is sent up from the pit, they can reduce it to any form. Of this stone, the Louvre, the King's palace, is built, which is a vast fabric, for the gallery wants not much of an Italian mile in length, and will easily lodge 3,000 men; which, some told me, was the end for which the last King made it so big, that lying at the fag-end of this great mutinous city, if she perchance should rise, the King might pour out of the Louvre so many thousand men unawares into the heart of her.

I am lodg'd here hard by the Bastille, because it is farthest off from those places where the English resort; for I would go on to get a little language as soon as I could. In my next, I shall impart unto you what state-news France affords; in the interim, and always, I am—Your humble servant, J. H.

Paris, 30 *March*, 1620.

XVII.

To Richard Altham, Esq.; from Paris.

DEAR SIR,—Love is the marrow of friendship, and letters are the elixir of love; they are the best fuel of affection, and cast a sweeter odour than any frankincense can do; such an odour, such an aromatic perfume your late letter brought with it, proceeding from the fragrancy of those dainty flowers of eloquence, which I found blossoming as it were in every line; I mean those sweet expressions of love and wit, which in every period were intermingled with so much art, that they seem'd to contend for mastery which was the strongest. I must confess, that you put me to hard shifts to correspond with you in such exquisite strains and raptures of love, which were so lively, that I must needs judge them to proceed from the motions, from the diastole and systole of a heart truly affected; certainly your heart did dictate every syllable you writ, and guided your hand all along. Sir, give me leave to

tell you, that not a dram, nor a dose, nor a scruple of this precious love of yours is lost, but is safely treasur'd up in my breast, and answer'd in like proportion to the full: mine to you is as cordial, it is passionate and perfect, as love can be.

I thank you for the desire you have to know how it fares with me abroad. I thank God I am perfectly well, and well contented with this wandering course of life a while. I never enjoy'd my health better, but I was like to endanger it two nights ago; for being in some jovial company abroad, and coming late to our lodging, we were suddenly surpris'd by a crew of *filous* or night-rogues, who drew upon us; and as we had exchang'd some blows, it pleas'd God the Chevalier du Guet, an officer who goes up and down the streets all night a-horseback to prevent disorders, pass'd by, and so rescu'd us; but Jack White was hurt, and I had two thrusts in my cloak. There's never a night passes, but some robbing or murder is committed in this town; so that it is not safe to go late anywhere, especially about the *Pont-Neuf*, the New-Bridge, tho' Henry the

Great himself lies sentinel there in arms, upon a huge Florentine horse, and sits bare to every one that passeth; an improper posture methinks to a King on horseback. Not long since, one of the secretaries of state, (whereof there are always four) having been invited to the suburbs of St. Germain to supper, left order with one of his lacqueys to bring him his horse about nine; it so happen'd that a mischance befell the horse, which lam'd him as he went a-watering to the Seine, insomuch that the secretary was put to beat the hoof himself, and foot it home; but as he was passing the *Pont-Neuf*, with his lacquey carrying a torch before him, he might o'er-hear a noise of clashing of swords, and fighting, and looking under the torch, and perceiving they were but two, he bade his lacquey go on; they had not made many paces, but two armed men, with their pistols cock'd and swords drawn, made puffing towards them, whereof one had a paper in his hand, which he said he had casually took up in the streets, and the difference between them was about that paper; therefore they desir'd the secretary to read it, with a

great deal of compliment. The secretary took out his spectacles and fell a-reading of the said paper, whercof the substance was, 'That it should be known to all men, that whosoever did pass over that bridge after nine a-clock at night in winter, and ten in summer, was to leave his cloak behind him, and in case of no cloak, his hat.' The secretary starting at this, one of the comrades told him, that he thought that paper concern'd him ; so they unmantled him of a new plush cloak, and my secretary was content to go home quietly, and *en cuerpo*. This makes me think often of the excellent nocturnal government of our city of London, where one may pass and repass securely all hours of the night, if he gives good words to the Watch. There is a gentle calm of peace now throughout all France, and the King¹ intends to make a progress to all the frontier towns of the kingdom, to see how they are fortify'd. The favourite, Luines, strengtheneth himself more and more in his minionship ; but he is much murmured at, in regard the access of suitors to him is so

¹ Louis XIII.

difficult : which made a lord of this land say, 'That three of the hardest things in the world were : to quadrate a circle, to find out the philosopher's stone, and to speak with the Duke of Luines.'

I have sent you by Vacandary the post, the French beaver and tweeses² you writ for : beaver-hats are grown dearer of late, because the Jesuits have got the monopoly of them from the King.

Farewell, dear child of virtue, and minion of the muses, and continue to love—Yours,

J. H.

Paris, 1 *May*, 1620.

XVIII.

To Sir James Crofts ; from Paris.

SIR,—I am to set forward this week for Spain, and if I can find no commodity of embarkation at St. Malo's, I must be forc'd to journey it all the way by land, and clamber up the huge Pyreney-Hills ; but I could not bid Paris adieu, till I had convey'd my true and constant respects to you by this letter. I was

² Small pincers, used to pluck out hairs.

yesterday to wait upon Sir Herbert Crofts at St. Germain, where I met with a French gentleman, who, amongst other curiosities, which he pleas'd to shew me up and down Paris, brought me to that place where the late King was slain, and to that were the Marquis of Ancre was shot; and so made me a punctual relation of all the circumstances of those two acts, which in regard they were rare, and I believe two of the notablest accidents that ever happen'd in France, I thought it worth the labour to make you partaker of some part of his discourse.

France, as all Christendom besides, (for there was then a truce betwixt Spain and the Hollanders) was in a profound peace, and had continued so twenty years together, when Henry IV. fell upon some great martial design, the bottom whereof is not known to this day; and being rich, (for he had heap'd up in the Bastille a mount of gold that was as high as a lance) he levy'd a huge army of 40,000 men, whence came the song, 'The King of France with forty thousand men;' and upon a sudden he put this army in perfect equipage,

and some say he invited our Prince Henry to come to him to be a sharer in his exploits. But going one afternoon to the Bastille, to see his treasure and ammunition, his coach stopp'd suddenly, by reason of some colliers and other carts that were in that narrow street ; whereupon one Ravailac, a Lay-Jesuit, (who had a whole twelvemonth watch'd an opportunity to do the act) put his foot boldly upon one of the wheels of the coach, and with a long knife stretch'd himself over their shoulders who were in the boot of the coach, and reach'd the King at the end, and stabb'd him right in the left side to the heart, and pulling out the fatal steel, he doubled his thrust ; the King with a rueful voice cry'd out, *Je suis blessé* (I am hurt), and suddenly the blood issued out at his mouth. The regicide villain was apprehended, and command given that no violence should be offer'd him, that he might be reserv'd for the law, and some exquisite torture. The Queen grew half distracted hereupon, who had been crown'd Queen of France the day before in great triumph ; but a few days after she had some-

thing to countervail, if not to overmatch her sorrow : for according to St. Lewis's Law, she was made Queen Regent of France, during the King's minority, who was then but about ten years of age. Many consultations were held how to punish Ravillac, and there were some Italian physicians that undertook to prescribe a torment, that should last a constant torment for three days ; but he 'scap'd only with this, his body was pull'd between four horses, that one might hear his bones crack, and after the dislocation they were set again ; and so he was carry'd in a cart standing half naked, with a torch in that hand which had committed the murder : and in the place where the act was done, it was cut off, and a gauntlet of hot oil was clapp'd upon the stump, to staunch the blood ; whereat he gave a doleful shriek. Then was he brought upon a stage, where a pair of new boots was provided for him, half fill'd with boiling oil ; then his body was pincer'd, and hot oil pour'd into the holes. In all the extremity of this torture, he scarce shew'd any sense of pain ; but when the gauntlet was clapp'd upon his arm to staunch

the flux, at that time, of reeking blood, he gave a shriek only. He bore up against all these torments about three hours before he died: all the confession that could be drawn from him, was, 'That he thought to have done God good service, to take away that King which would have embroil'd all Christendom in an endless war.'

A fatal thing it was, that France should have three of her Kings come to such violent deaths, in so short a revolution of time. Henry II. running at tilt with M. Montgomery, was kill'd by a splinter of a lance that pierc'd his eye: Henry III. not long after, was kill'd by a young friar, who in lieu of a letter which he pretended to have for him, pull'd out of his long sleeve a knife, and thrust him into the bottom of the belly, and so dispatch'd him; but that regicide was hack'd to pieces in the place by the nobles. The same destiny attended the King by Ravailac, which is become now a common name of reproach and infamy in France.

Never was King so much lamented as this; there are a world not only of his pictures, but

statues up and down France; and there's scarce a market-town, but hath him erected in the market-place, or o'er some gate, not upon sign-posts, as our Henry VIII. ; and by a public Act of Parliament, which was confirm'd in the Consistory at Rome, he was entitl'd Henry the Great and so plac'd in the Temple of Immortality. A notable Prince he was, and of an admirable temper of body and mind; he had a graceful, facetious way to gain both love and awe; he would be never transported beyond himself with choler, but he would pass by anything with some repartee, some witty strain, wherein he was excellent. I will instance in a few which were told me from a good hand. One day he was charg'd by the Duke of Bouillon to have chang'd his religion. He answer'd, 'No, cousin, I have chang'd no religion, but an opinion.' And the Cardinal of Perron being by, he enjoin'd him to write a treatise for his vindication; the Cardinal was long about the work, and when the King ask'd from time to time where his book was, he would still answer him, 'That he expected some manuscripts from Rome, before he could

finish it.' It happen'd, that one day the King took the Cardinal along with him to look on his workmen and new buildings at the Louvre ; and passing by one corner which had been a long time begun, but left unfinish'd, the King ask'd the chief mason why that corner was not all this while perfected? 'Sir, it is because I want some choice stones.' 'No, no,' said the King, looking upon the Cardinal, 'it is because thou wantest manuscripts from Rome.' Another time, when at the siege of Amiens, he having sent for the Count of Soissons (who had 100,000 francs a year pension from the Crown) to assist him in those wars, and that the Count excus'd himself, by reason of his years and poverty, having exhausted himself in the former wars, and all that he could do now, was to pray for his majesty, which he would do heartily. This answer being brought to the King, he reply'd, 'Will my cousin, the Count of Soissons, do nothing else but pray for me? Tell him that prayer without fasting, is not available; therefore I will make my cousin fast also from his pension of 100,000 *per an.*'

He was once troubled with a fit of the gout ; and the Spanish Ambassador coming then to visit him, and saying he was sorry to see his majesty so lame ; he answer'd, ' As lame as I am, if there were occasion, your master the King of Spain should no sooner have his foot in the stirrup, but he should find me on horseback.'

By these few you may guess at the genius of this sprightly Prince : I could make many more instances, but then I should exceed the bounds of a letter. When I am in Spain, you shall hear further from me ; and if you can think on anything wherein I may serve you, believe it, Sir, that any employment from you shall be welcome to—Your much obliged servant,
J. H.

Paris, 12 *May*, 1620.

XIX.

To my Brother, Dr. Howell.

BROTHER,—Being to-morrow to part with Paris, and begin my journey for Spain, I thought it not amiss to send you this, in

regard I know not when I shall have opportunity to write to you again.

This kingdom, since the young King hath taken the sceptre into his own hands, doth flourish very much with quietness and commerce; nor is there any motion, or the least tintamar of trouble in any part of the country, which is rare in France. 'Tis true, the Queen-Mother is discontented since she left her Regency, being confin'd; and I know not what it may come to in time, for she hath a strong party; and the murdering of her Marquis of Ancre will yet bleed, as some fear.

I was lately in society of a gentleman, who was a spectator of that tragedy; and he was pleas'd to relate to me the particulars of it, which was thus: When Henry IV. was slain, the Queen Dowager took the reins of the government into her hands during the young King's minority; and amongst others whom she advanc'd, Signor Conchino, a Florentine, and her foster-brother,¹ was one. Her countenance came to shine so strongly upon him, that he

¹ The husband of Leonora Galigai, the foster-sister of Marie de Médecis.

became her only confidant and favourite, inso-much that she made him Marquis of Ancre, one of the twelve Mareschals of France, Governor of Normandy ; and conferr'd divers other honours and offices of trust upon him, and who but he. The princes of France could not endure the domineering of a stranger, therefore they leagu'd together to suppress him by arms: the Queen-Regent having intelligence hereof, surpris'd the Prince of Condé, and clapp'd him up in the Bastille ; the Duke of Main fled hereupon to Peronne in Picardy, and other great men put themselves in an armed posture to stand upon their guard. The young King being told that the Marquis of Ancre was the ground of this discontentment, commanded M. de Vitry, captain of his Guards, to arrest him, and in case of resistance to kill him. This business was carry'd very closely till the next morning, that the said Marquis was coming to the Louvre with a ruffling train of gallants after him ; and passing over the drawbridge at the Court-Gate, Vitry stood there with the King's guard about him ; and as the Marquis enter'd, he told him,

that he had a commission from the King to apprehend him, therefore he demanded his sword. The Marquis hereupon put his hand upon his sword, some thought to yield it up, others to make opposition; in the meantime Vitry discharg'd a pistol at him, and so dispatch'd him. The King being above in his gallery, ask'd what noise that was below; one smilingly answer'd, 'Nothing, Sir, but that the Mareschal of Ancre is slain.' 'Who slew him?' 'The Captain of your Guard.' 'Why?' 'Because he would have drawn his sword at your Majesty's Royal Commission.' Then the King reply'd, 'Vitry hath done well, and I will maintain the act.' Presently the Queen-Mother had all her guard taken from her, except six men and sixteen women, and so she was banish'd Paris, and commanded to retire to Blois. Ancre's body was bury'd that night in a church-yard by the Court; but the next morning, the lacqueys and pages (who are more unhappy here than the apprentices in London) broke up his grave, tore his coffin to pieces, ripp'd the winding-sheet, and tied his body to an ass's

tail, and so dragg'd him up and down the gutters of Paris, which are none of the sweetest; they then slic'd off his ears, and nail'd them upon the gates of the city; the rest of his body they carry'd to the New-bridge, and hung him his heels upwards and head downwards upon a new gibbet, that had been set up a little before, to punish them who should speak ill of the present Government; and it was his chance to have the maidenhead of it himself. His wife was hereupon apprehended, imprison'd and beheaded for a witch some few days after, upon a surmise that she had enchanted the Queen to dote so upon her husband; and they say the young King's picture was found in her closet in virgin-wax, with one leg melted away. A little after a process was form'd against the Marquis (her husband), and so he was condemn'd after death. This was a right act of a French popular fury, which like an angry torrent is irresistible; nor can any banks, boundaries, or dikes, stop the impetuous rage of it. How the young King will prosper after so high and an unexampled act of violence, by beginning

his reign, and embruing the walls of his own Court with blood in that manner, there are divers censures.

When I am settled in Spain, you shall hear from me; in the interim, I pray let your prayers accompany me in this long journey; and when you write to Wales, I pray acquaint our friends with my welfare. So I pray God bless us both, and send us a happy interview.

—Your loving Brother, J. H.

Paris, 8 September, 1620.

XX.

To my Cousin, W. Vaughan, Esq.; from St. Malo.

COUSIN,—I am now in French-Brittany, I went back from Paris to Rouen, and so thro' all Low Normandy, to a little port called Granville, where I embarked for this town of St. Malo; but I did purge so violently at sea, that it put me into a burning fever for some few days, whereof (I thank God) I am newly recover'd; and finding no opportunity of shipping here, I must be forc'd to turn my intended sea-voyage to a long land-journey.

Since I came to this province, I was curious to converse with some of the Lower Britons, who speak no other language but our Welsh, for their radical words are no other; but 'tis no wonder, for they were a colony of Welsh at first, as the name of this province doth imply; as also the Latin name *Armorica*, which tho' it pass for Latin, yet it is pure Welsh, and signifies a country bordering upon the sea; as that Arch-Heretic was call'd Pelagius, à *Pelago*, his name being Morgan. I was a little curious to peruse the annals of this province; and during the time that it was a kingdom, there were four kings of the name Hoell, whereof one was called Hoell the Great.

This town at St. Malo hath one rarity in it; for there is here a perpetual garrison of English, but they are of English dogs, which are let out in the night to guard the ships, and eat the carrens¹ up and down the streets, and so they are shut up again in the morning.

It will be now a good while before I shall have conveniency to send to you, or receive

¹ Carrion, refuse.

from you ; howsoever, let me retain still some little room in your memory, and sometimes in your meditations, while I carry you about me perpetually, not only in my head, but in heart, and make you travel all along with me thus from town to country, from hill to dale, from sea to land, up and down the world: and you must be contented to be subject to these uncertain removes and perambulations, until it shall please God to fix me again in England: nor need you, while you are thus my concomitant thro' new places every day, to fear any ill usage, as long as I fare well—Yours *χρήσει καὶ κτήσει,*

J. H.

St. Malo, 25 *September*, 1620.

XXI.

To Sir John North, Knight ; from Rochelle.

SIR,—I am newly come to Rochelle, nor am I sorry that I went somewhat out of my way to see this town, not (to tell you true) out of any extraordinary love I bear to the people ; for I do not find them so gentle and debonair to strangers, nor so hospitable as the rest

of France ; but I excuse them for it, in regard it is commonly so with all Republic and Hans Towns, whereof this smells very rank : nor indeed hath any Englishman much cause to love this town, in regard, in ages pass'd, she played the most treacherous part with England of any other place in France. For the story tells us, that this town having by a perfidious stratagem (by forging a counterfeit commission from England) induc'd the English Governor to make a general muster of all his forces out of the town ; this being one day done, they shut their gates against him, and made him go shake his ears, and to shift for his lodging, and so render'd themselves to the French King, who sent them a blank to write their own conditions. I think they have the strongest ramparts by sea of any place of Christendom ; nor have I seen the like in any town of Holland, whose safety depends upon water. I am bound to-morrow for Bordeaux, then thro' Gascony to Toulouse, so thro' Languedoc o'er the hills to Spain : I go in the best season of the year, for I make an autumnal journey of it. I pray let your

prayers accompany me all along, they are the best offices of love, and fruits of friendship: so God prosper you at home, as me abroad, and send us in good time a joyful conjuncture.

—Yours,

J. H.

Rochelle, 8 *October*, 1620.

XXII.

To Mr. Tho. Porter, after Capt. Porter; from Barcelona.

MY DEAR TOM,—I had no sooner set foot upon this soil, and breath'd Spanish air, but my thoughts presently reflected upon you. Of all my friends in England, you were the first I met here; you were the prime object of my speculation, methought the very winds in gentle whispers did breathe out your name, and blow it on me; you seem'd to reverberate upon me with the beams of the sun, which you know hath such a powerful influence, and indeed too great a stroke in this country. And all this you must ascribe to the operations of love, which hath such a strong virtual force, that when it fasteneth upon a

pleasing subject, it sets the imagination in a strange fit of working, it employs all the faculties of the soul, so that not one cell in the brain is idle; it busieth the whole inward man, it affects the heart, amusethe understanding: it quickeneth the fancy, and leads the will as it were by a silken thread to co-operate with 'em all. I have felt these motions often in me, especially at this time, that my memory fix'd upon you. But the reason that I fell first upon you in Spain, was, that I remember'd I had heard you often discoursing how you have receiv'd part of your education here, which brought you to speak the language so exactly well. I think often of the relations I have heard you make of this country, and the good instruction you pleas'd to give me.

I am now in Barcelona, but the next week I intend to go on thro' your town of Valencia to Alicante, and thence you shall be sure to hear from me farther, for I make account to winter there. The Duke of Ossuna pass'd by here lately, and having got leave of grace to release some slaves, he went aboard the Cape galleys,

and passing thro' the *Churma* of slaves, he ask'd divers of them what their offences were. Every one excus'd himself; one saying that he was put in out of malice, another by bribery of the judge, but all of them unjustly. Amongst the rest there was one little sturdy black man, and the Duke asking him what he was in for; 'Sir,' said he, 'I cannot deny but I am justly put in here, for I wanted money, and so took a purse hard by Tarragona, to keep me from starving.' The Duke with a little staff he had in his hand, gave him two or three blows upon the shouldlers, saying, 'You rogue, what do you do amongst so many honest innocent men? get you gone out of their company.' So he was freed, and the rest remain'd still *in statu quo prius*, to tug at the oar.

I pray commend me to Signor Camillo, and Mazalao, with the rest of the Venetians with you; and when you go aboard the Ship behind the Exchange, think upon—Yours, J. H.

Barcelona, 10 *November*, 1620.

XXIII.

To Sir James Crofts.

SIR,—I am now a good way within the body of Spain, at Barcelona, a proud wealthy city, situated upon the Mediterranean, and is the metropolis of the kingdom of Catalonia, call'd of old *Hispania Tarraconensis*. I had much ado to reach hither; for besides the monstrous abruptness of the way, these parts of the Pyrenees that border upon the Mediterranean, are never without thieves by land (called *Bandoleros*) and pirates on the sea-side, which lie skulking in the hollows of the rocks, and often surprise passengers unawares, and carry them slaves to Barbary on the other side. The safest way to pass, is to take a bourdon¹ in the habit of a pilgrim, whereof there are abundance that perform their vows this way to the Lady of Monserrat, one of the prime places of pilgrimage in Christendom. It is a stupendous monastery, built on the top of a huge land-rock, whither it is impossible

¹ A pilgrim's staff.

to go up, or come down by a direct way, but a path is cut out full of windings and turnings ; and on the crown of this craggy hill there is a flat, upon which the monastery and pilgrimage place is founded, where there is a picture of the Virgin Mary sunburnt, and tann'd, it seems when she went to Egypt ; and to this picture a marvellous confluence of people from all parts of Europe resort.

As I pass'd between some of the Pyrency-Hills, I perceiv'd the poor *Labradors*, some of the country people, live no better than brute animals, in point of food ; for their ordinary commons is grass and water, only they have always within their houses a bottle of vinegar, and another of oil ; and when dinner or supper-time comes, they go abroad and gather their herbs, and so cast vinegar and oil upon them, and will pass thus two or three days without bread or wine ; yet they are strong lusty men, and will stand stiffly under a musket.

There is a tradition, that there were divers mines of gold in ages past amongst those mountains : and the shepherds that kept goats

then, having made a small fire of rosemary-stubs, with other combustible stuff to warm themselves, this fire graz'd along, and grew so outrageous, that it consumed the very entrails of the earth, and melted those mines; which, growing fluid by liquefaction, ran down into the small rivulets that were in the valleys, and so carry'd all into the sea, that monstrous gulf which swalloweth all, but seldom disgorgeth anything: and in these brooks, to this day, some small grains of gold are found.

The Viceroy of this country hath taken much pains to clear these hills of robbers, and there hath been a notable havoc made of them this year; for in divers woods, as I pass'd, I might spy some trees laden with dead carcasses, a better fruit far than Diogenes's tree bore, whereon a woman had hanged herself; which the Cynic cried out to be the best bearing tree that ever he saw.

In this place there lives neither English merchant nor factor; which I wonder at, considering it is a maritime town, and one of the greatest in Spain, her chiefest arsenal for galleys, and the scale by which she conveys

her moneys to Italy : but I believe the reason is, that there is no commodious port here for ships of any burden, but a large bay. I will enlarge myself no farther at this time, but leave you to the guard and guidance of God, whose sweet hand of protection hath brought me thro' so many uncouth places and difficulties to this city. So, hoping to meet your letters in Alicante, where I shall anchor a good while, I rest—Yours to dispose of, J. H.

Barcelona, 24 *November*, 1620.

XXIV.

To Dr. Fr. Mansell ; from Valentia.

SIR,—Tho' it be the same glorious sun that shines upon you in England which illuminates also this part of the hemisphere ; tho' it be the sun that ripeneth your pippins, and our pomegranates ; your hops, and our vineyards here ; yet he dispenseth his heat in different degrees of strength : those rays that do but warm you in England, do half roast us here ; those beams that irradiate only, and gild your honeysuckle fields, do scorch and parch this

chinky gaping soil, and so put too many wrinkles upon the face of our common mother the earth. O blessed clime, O happy England, where there is such a rare temperature of heat and cold, and all the rest of elementary qualities, that one may pass (and suffer little) all the year long, without either shade in summer or fire in winter.

I am now in Valentia, one of the noblest cities in all Spain, situate in a large *vega* or valley, above sixty miles compass: here are the strongest silks, the sweetest wines, the excellentest almonds, the best oils, and beautiful'st females of all Spain, for the prime courtesans in Madrid and elsewhere are had hence. The very brute animals make themselves beds of rosemary, and other fragrant flowers hereabouts; and when one is at sea, if the wind blow from the shore, he may smell this soil before he come in sight of it, many leagues off, by the strong odoriferous scent it casts. As it is the most pleasant, so it is also the temperat'st clime of all Spain; and they commonly call it the second Italy, which made the Moors, whereof many thousands

were disterr'd¹ and banish'd hence to Barbary, to think that Paradise was in that part of the heavens which hung over this city. Some twelve miles off, is old Sagunto, call'd now Morviedre, thro' which I pass'd, and saw many monuments of Roman antiquities there; amongst others, there is the Temple dedicated to Venus, when the snake came about her neck, a little before Hannibal came thither. No more now, but that I heartily wish you were here with me, and I believe you would not desire to be a good while in England. So I am,—Yours,

J. H.

Valentia, 1st March, 1620.

XXV.

To Christopher Jones, Esq.; at Grays-Inn.

I AM now (thanks be to God) come to Alicante, the chief rendezvous I aim'd at in Spain; for I am to send hence a commodity called *Barillia*, to Sir Robert Mansell, for making of crystal glass; and I have treated with Signor Andriotti, a Genoa merchant for

¹ Dispossessed of their land.

a good round parcel of it, to the value of 2000*l.* by letters of credit from Master Richant ; and upon his credit, I might have taken many thousand pounds more, he is so well known in the Kingdom of Valentia. This *Barillia* is a strange kind of vegetable, and it grows nowhere upon the surface of the earth in that perfection, as here. The Venetians have it hence, and it is a commodity whereby this maritime town doth partly subsist ; for it is an ingredient that goes to the making of the best Castile soap. It grows thus, 'tis a round-thick earthy shrub that bears berries like barberries, betwixt blue and green ; it lies close to the ground, and when it is ripe they dig it up by the roots, and put it together in cocks, where they leave it to dry many days like hay ; then they make a pit of a fathom deep in the earth, and with an instrument like one of our prongs, they take the tufts and put fire to them, and when the flame comes to the berries, they melt and dissolve into an azure liquor, and fall down into the pit till it be full ; then they dam it up, and some days after they open it, and find

this *Barillia* juice turn'd to a blue stone, so hard, that it is scarce malleable; it is sold at one hundred crowns a tun, but I had it for less. There is also a spurious flower call'd *Gazull*, that grows here, but the glass that's made of that is not so resplendent and clear. I have been here now these three months, and most of my food hath been grapes and bread, with other roots, which have made me so fat, that I think if you saw me, you would hardly know me, such nutriture this deep sanguine Alicante grape gives. I have not receiv'd a syllable from you since I was in Antwerp, which transforms me to wonder, and engenders odd thoughts of jealousy in me, that as my body grows fatter, your love grows lanker towards me. I pray take off these scruples, and let me hear from you, else it will make a schism in friendship, which I hold to be a very holy league, and no less than a piacle¹ to infringe it; in which opinion I rest,—Your constant friend,

J. H.

Alicante, 27 *March*, 1621.

¹ A crime.

XXVI.

To Sir John North, Knight.

SIR,—Having endur'd the brunt of a whole summer in Spain, and try'd the temper of all the other three seasons of the year, up and down the kingdoms of Catalonia, Valentia, and Murcia, with some parts of Aragon, I am now to direct my course for Italy: I hop'd to have embark'd at Carthagenæ, the best port upon the Mediterranean; for what ships and galleys get in thither, are shut up as it were in a box from the violence and injury of all weathers; which made Andrea Doria,¹ being ask'd by Philip II. which were his best harbours, he answer'd, 'June, July, and Carthagenæ;' meaning that any port is good in those two months, but Carthagenæ was good any time of the year. There was a most ruthful accident had happened there a little before I came: for whereas five ships had gone thence laden with soldiers for Naples, amongst whom there was the flower of the gentry of the

¹ The famous Genoese naval commander.

kingdom of Murcia ; those ships had hardly sail'd three leagues, but they met with sixteen sail of Algiers men-of-war, who had laid skulking in the creeks thereabout ; and they had the winds and all things else so favourable, that of those five ships they took one, sunk another, and burnt a third, and two fled back to safe harbour. The report hereof being bruited up and down the country, the gentle women came from the country to have tidings, some of their children, others of their brothers and kindred, and went tearing their hair, and howling up and down the streets in a most piteous manner. The Admiral of those five ships, as I heard afterwards, was sent for to Madrid, and hang'd at the Court-gate, because he did not fight. Had I come time enough to have taken the opportunity, I might have been made, either food for haddocks, or turn'd to cinders, or have been by this time a slave in the Banner at Algiers, or tugging at an oar ; but I hope God hath reserv'd me for a better destiny : so I came back to Alicante, where I lighted upon a lusty Dutchman, who hath carry'd me safe hither, but we were near upon

forty days in voyage: we pass'd by Majorca and Minorca, the *Baleares Insulæ*, by some ports of Barbary, by Sardinia, Corsica, and all the islands of the Mediterranean Sea. We were at the mouth of Tiber, and thence fetch'd our course for Sicily; we pass'd by those sulphureous fiery islands, Mongibel and Strombolo; and about the dawn of the day we shot thro' Scylla and Charybdis, and so into the Phare of Messina; thence we touched upon some of the Greek islands, and so came to our first intended course, into the Venetian gulf, and are now here at Malomocco, where we remain yet aboard, and must be content to be so, to make up the month before we have *pratic*, that is, before any be permitted to go ashore, and negotiate, in regard we touch'd at some infected places: for there are no people upon earth so fearful of the plague as the Italians, especially the Venetians, tho' their neighbours the Greeks hard by, and the Turks, have little or no apprehension at all of the danger of it, for they will visit and commerce with the sick without any scruple, and will fix their longest finger in the midst of their fore-

head, and say, their destiny and manner of death is pointed there. When we have gain'd yon Maiden City, which lieth before us, you shall hear farther from me. So leaving you to His holy protection, who hath thus graciously vouchsafed to preserve this ship, and me, in so long and dangerous a voyage, I rest,—Yours,

J. H.

Malamocco, 30 *April*, 1621.

XXVII.

To my Brother, Dr. Howell; from on Shipboard before Venice.

BROTHER,—If this letter fail either in point of orthography or style, you must impute the first to the tumbling posture my body was in at the writing hereof, being a-shipboard; the second the muddiness of my brain, which, like lees in a narrow vessel, hath been shaken at sea in divers tempests near upon forty days, I mean natural days, which include the nights also, and are composed of twenty-four hours, by which number the Italian computes his time, and tells the clock; for at the writing hereof, I

heard one from Malamocco strike twenty-one hours. When I shall have saluted yonder Virgin City that stands before me, and hath tantaliz'd me now this se'nnight, I hope to cheer my spirits, and settle my *Pericranium* again.

In this voyage we pass'd thro', at least touch'd, all those seas which Horace and other poets sing of so often, as the Ionian, the Ægean, the Icarian; the Tyrrhene, with others; and now we are in the Adrian Sea, in the mouth whereof Venice stands like a gold ring in a bear's muzzle. We pass'd also by Etna, by the *Infames Scopulos*, *Acroceraunia*, and thro' Scylla and Charybdis, about which the ancient poets, both Greek and Latin, keep such a coil; but they are nothing so horrid or dangerous as they make them to be, they are two white keen-pointed rocks that lie under water diametrically oppos'd, and like two dragons defying one another; and there are pilots, that in small shallows, are ready to steer all ships that pass. This, amongst divers others, may serve for an instance, that the old poets used to heighten and hoise up things by

their airy fancies above the reality of truth. Etna was very furious when we pass'd by, as she useth to be sometimes more than other, especially when the wind is southward, for then she is more subject to belching out flakes of fire (as stutterers use to stammer more when the wind is in that hole); some of the sparkles fell aboard us, but they would make us believe in Syracuse, now Messina, that Etna in times past hath eructated such huge gobbets of fire, that the sparks of them have burnt houses in Malta above fifty miles off, transported thither by a direct strong wind. We pass'd hard by Corinth, now Ragusa; but I was not so happy as to touch there, for you know

Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum

I convers'd with many Greeks, but found none that could understand, much less practically speak, any of the old dialects of the pristine Greek, it is so adulterated by the vulgar, as a bed of flowers by weeds; nor is there any people, either in the island or on the continent, that speaks it conversably: yet there are in the Morea seven parishes call'd

Zacones, where the original Greek is not much degenerated, but they confound divers letters of the alphabet with one sound; for in point of pronunciation, there is no difference betwixt *Upsilon*, *Iota*, and *Eta*.

The last I receiv'd from you was in Latin, whereof I sent you an answer from Spain, in the same language, tho' in a coarser dialect. I shall be a guest to Venice a good while, therefore I desire a frequency of correspondence between us by letters, for there will be conveniency every week of receiving and sending. When you write to Wales, I pray send advice that I am come safe to Italy, tho' not landed there yet. So, my dear brother, I pray God bless us both, and all our friends, and reserve me to see you again with comfort, and you me, who am—Your loving Brother,

5 May, 1621.

J. H.

XXVIII.

To the Honourable Sir Robert Mansell, Vice-Admiral of England; from Venice.

SIR,—As soon as I came to Venice, I apply'd myself to dispatch your business according to

instructions, and Mr. Seymor was ready to contribute his best furtherance. These two Italians, who are the bearers hereof, by report here, are the best gentlemen-workmen that ever blew crystal; one is ally'd to Antonio Miotti, the other is cousin to Mazalao: for other things they shall be sent in the ship *Lion*, which rides here at Malamocco, as I shall send you account by conveyance of Mr. Symns. Herewith I have sent a letter to you from Sir Henry Wotton, the Lord Ambassador here, of whom I have received some favours. He wish'd me to write, that you have now a double interest in him; for whereas before he was only your servant, he is now your kinsman by your late marriage.

I was lately to see the Arsenal of Venice, one of the worthiest things in Christendom; they say there are as many galleys and galeasses of all sorts, belonging to St. Mark, either in course, at anchor, in dock, or upon the careen, as there be days in the year: here they can build a complete galley in half a day, and put her afloat in perfect equipage, having all the ingredients fitted beforehand; as they

did in three hours, when Henry III. pass'd this way to France from Poland, who wish'd that, besides Paris, and his Parliament Towns, he had this Arsenal in exchange for three of his chiefest cities. There are three hundred people perpetually here at work ; and if one comes young, and grows old in St. Mark's service, he hath a pension from the State during life. Being brought to see one of the *Clarissimos* that govern this Arsenal, this huge sea store-house ; among other matters reflecting upon England, he was saying, that if Cavaglier Don Roberto Mansell were here, he thought verily the Republic would make a proffer to him to be Admiral of that Fleet of galleys and galleons, which are now going against the Duke of Ossuna, and the forces of Naples ; you are so well known here.

I was, since I came hither, in Murano, a little island about the distance of Lambeth from London, where crystal-glass is made ; and 'tis a rare sight to see a whole street, where on the one side there are twenty furnaces together at work. They say here, that altho' one should transplant a glass-fur-

nace from Murano to Venice herself, or to any of the little assembly of islands about her, or to any other part of the earth besides, and use the same materials, the same workmen, the same fuel, the self-same ingredients every way, yet they cannot make crystal-glass in that perfection, for beauty and lustre, as in Murano: some impute it to the quality of the circumambient air that hangs o'er the place, which is purify'd and attenuated by the concurrence of so many fires that are in those furnaces night and day perpetually, for they are like the Vestal-fire which never goes out. And it is well known, that some airs make more qualifying impressions than others: as a Greek told me in Sicily of the air of Egypt, where there be huge common furnaces to hatch eggs by the thousand in camel's dung: for during the time of hatching, if the air happen to come to be overcast, and grow cloudy, it spoils all; if the sky continue still, serene, and clear, not one egg in an hundred will miscarry.

I met with Camillo your *Consaorman* here lately; and could he be sure of entertain-

ment, he would return to serve you again, and I believe for less salary.

I shall attend your commands herein by the next, and touching other particulars, whereof I have written to Capt. Bacon.

So I rest—Your most humble and ready servant,
J. H.

Venice, 30 *May*, 1621.

XXIX.

To my Brother ; from Venice.

BROTHER,—I found a letter of yours that had lain dormant here a good while in Mr. Symn's hands, to welcome me to Venice, and I thank you for the variety of news wherewith she went freighted ; for she was to me as a ship richly laden from London useth to be to our merchants here, and I esteem her *cargazon* at no less a value, for she enrich'd me with the knowledge of my father's health, and your own, with the rest of my brothers and sisters in the country, with divers other passages of contentment: besides, she went also ballasted with your good instructions,

which as merchants use to do of their commodities, I will turn to the best advantage, and Italy is no ill market to improve anything. The only procede (that I may use the mercantile term) you can expect is thanks, and this way shall not be wanting to make you rich returns.

Since I came to this town, I dispatch'd sundry businesses of good value for Sir Robert Mansell, which I hope will give content. The art of glass-making here is very highly valued; for whoever be of that profession, are gentlemen *ipso facto*, and it is not without reason, it being a rare kind of knowledge and chemistry to transmute dust and sand (for they are the only main ingredients) to such a diaphanous pellucid dainty body as you see a crystal glass is, which hath this property above gold or silver, or any other mineral, to admit no poison; as also that it never wastes or loses a whit of its first weight, tho' you use it never so long. When I saw so many sorts of curious glasses made here, I thought upon the compliment which a gentleman put upon a lady in England, who having five or six

comely daughters, said, He never saw in his life such a dainty cupboard of crystal glasses. The compliment proceeds, it seems, from a saying they have here, That the first handsome woman that ever was made, was made of Venice glass; which implies beauty, but brittleness withal, (and Venice is not unfurnished with some of that mould, for no place abounds more with Lasses and Glasses). But when I pry'd into the materials, and observ'd the furnaces and calcinations, the transubstantiations, the liquefactions that are incident to this art, my thoughts were rais'd to a higher speculation: that if this small furnace-fire hath virtue to convert such a small lump of dark dust and sand into such a precious clear body as crystal; surely that grand universal fire which shall happen at the day of judgment, may by its violent ardour vitrify and turn to one lump of crystal the whole body of the earth: nor am I the first that fell upon this conceit.

I will enlarge myself no further to you at this time, but conclude with this tetrastich, which my brain ran upon in my bed this morning.

*Vitrea sunt nostræ commissa negotia curæ,
 Hoc oculis Speculum mittimus ergo tuis :
 Quod Speculum? est instar Speculi mea litera, per
 quod
 Vivida fraterni cordis imago nitet.*

Adieu, my dear brother, live happily, and
 love—Your brother, J. H.

Venice, 1 June, 1621.

XXX.

*To Mr. Richard Altham, at Gray's-Inn ; from
 Venice.*

GENTLE SIR,

———*O dulcior illo
 Meile quod in ceris Attica ponit Apis.*

O thou that dost in sweetness far excel
 That juice the Attic Bee stores in her cell.

MY DEAR DICK,—I have now a good while
 since taken footing in Venice, this admired
 Maiden City, so call'd because she was never
 deflowered by any enemy since she had a being,
 not since her Rialto was first erected, which is
 now above twelve ages ago.

I protest to you, at my first landing I was

for some days ravished with the high beauty of this maid, with her lovely countenance. I admired her magnificent buildings, her marvellous situation, her dainty smooth neat streets, whereon you may walk most days in the year in a silk stocking and satin slippers, without soiling them: nor can the streets of Paris be so foul as these are fair. This beautiful maid hath been often attempted to be vitiated; some have courted her, some bribed her, some would have forc'd her, yet she hath still preserved her chastity entire: and tho' she hath lived so many ages, and passed so many shrewd brunts; yet she continueth fresh to this very day without the least wrinkle of old age, or any symptoms of decay, whereunto political bodies, as well as natural, use to be liable. Beside, she hath wrestled with the greatest potentates upon earth; the Emperor, the King of France, and most of the other Princes of Christendom, in that famous League of Cambray, would have sunk her; but she bore up still within her lakes, and broke that League to pieces by her wit. The Grand Turk hath been often at her, and tho'

he could not have his will of her, yet he took away the richest jewel she wore in her coronet, and put it in his turban, I mean the kingdom of Cyprus, the only royal gem she had ; he hath set upon her skirts often since, and tho' she clos'd with him sometimes, yet she came off still with her maidenhead : tho' some that envy her happiness would brand her to be of late times a kind of concubine to him, and that she gives him ready money once a year to lie with her, which she minceth by the name of present, tho' it be indeed rather a tribute.

I would I had you here with a wish, and you would not desire in haste to be at Gray's-Inn, tho' I hold your walks to be the pleasant'st place about London ; and that you have there the choicest society. I pray present my kind commendations to all there, and service at Bishopsgate-street, and let me hear from you by the next post. So I am—Entirely yours,
J. H.

Venice, 5 *June*, 1621.

XXXI.

To Dr. Fr. Mansell ; from Venice.

GIVE me leave to salute you first in these
Sapphics :

*Insulam tendens iter ad Britannam
Charta, de paucis volo, siste gressum,
Verba Mansello, bene noscis illum,
 talia perfer.*

*Finibus longe patriis Hoellus
Dimorans, quantis Venetum superba
Civitas leucis Doroberniensi
 distat ab urbe ;*

*Plurimam mentis tibi vult salutem,
Plurimum cordis tibi vult vigorem,
Plurimum sortis tibi vult favorem
 Regis & Aulae.*

These wishes come to you from Venice, a place where there is nothing wanting that heart can wish : renowned Venice, the admired'st city in the world ; a city that all Europe is bound unto, for she is her greatest rampart against that huge eastern tyrant the Turk by sea, else I believe he had over-run all Christendom by this time. Against him this

city hath performed notable exploits, and not only against him, but divers others. She hath restored Emperors to their thrones, and Popes to their chairs, and with her galleys often preserved St. Peter's bark from sinking: for which, by way of reward, one of her successors espous'd her to the sea; which marriage is solemnly renew'd every year in solemn procession by the *Doge* and all the *Clarissimos*, and a gold ring cast into the sea out of the great galeass call'd the *Bucentoro*, wherein the first ceremony was perform'd by the Pope himself above three hundred years since; and they say it is the self-same vessel still, tho' often put upon the careen and trimm'd. This made me think on that famous ship at Athens; nay, I fell upon an abstracted notion in philosophy, and a speculation touching the body of man, which being in perpetual flux, and a kind of succession of decays, and consequently requiring ever and anon a restoration of what it loseth of the virtue of the former aliment, and what was converted after the third concoction into blood and fleshly substance, which, as in all other sublunary

bodies that have internal principles of heat, useth to transpire, breathe out, and waste away thro' invisible pores, by exercise, motion and sleep, to make room still for a supply of new nouriture; I fell, I say, to consider whether our bodies may be said to be of like condition with this *Bucentoro*; which, tho' it be reputed still the same vessel, yet I believe there's not a foot of that timber remaining which it had upon the first dock, having been, as they tell me, so often plank'd and ribb'd, caulk'd and piec'd. In like manner, our bodies may be said to be daily repair'd by new sustenance, which begets new blood, and consequently new spirits, new humours, and I may say new flesh, the old by continual deperdition and insensible transpirations evaporating still out of us, and giving way to fresh; so that I make a question, whether, by reason of these perpetual preparations and accretions, the body of man may be said to be the same numerical body in his old age that he had in his manhood, or the same in his manhood that he had in his youth, the same in his youth that he carried about him in his childhood, or the

same in his childhood which he wore first in the womb? I make a doubt, whether I had the same identical individually numerical body, when I carried a calf-leather satchel to school in Hereford, as when I wore a lambskin hood in Oxford; or whether I have the same mass of blood in my veins, and the same flesh now in Venice, which I carry'd about me three years since up and down London streets, having, in lieu of beer and ale, drunk wine all this while, and fed upon different viands? Now the stomach is like a crucible, for it hath a chymical kind of virtue to transmute one body into another, to transubstantiate fish and fruits into flesh within, and about us: but tho' it be questionable, whether I wear the same flesh which is fluxible, I am sure my hair is not the same; for you may remember I went flaxen-haired out of England, but you shall find me return'd with a very dark brown, which I impute not only to the heat and air of those hot countries I have eaten my bread in, but to the quality and difference of food. But you will say that hair is but an excrementitious thing, and makes not to this

purpose ; moreover, methinks I hear you say, that this may be true, only in the blood and spirits of such fluid parts, not in the solid and heterogeneal parts. But I will press no further at this time this philosophical notion, which the sight of *Bucentoro* infus'd into me, for it hath already made me exceed the bounds of a letter, and I fear to trespass too much upon your patience : I leave the further disquisition of this point to your own contemplations, who are a far riper philosopher than I, and have waded deeper into, and drunk more of, Aristotle's well. But, to conclude, tho' it be doubtful whether I carry about me the same body or no in all points that I had in England, I am well assur'd I bear still the same mind, and therein I verify the old verse,

Cælum non animam mutant qui trans mare currunt.

The air but not the mind they change,
Who in outlandish countries range.

For what alterations soever happen in this microcosm, in this little world, this small bulk and body of mine, you may be confident, that nothing shall alter my affections,

pecially towards you, but that I will persevere still the same,—The very same,

J. H.

Venice, 25 June, 1621.

XXXII.

To Richard Altham, Esq.

DEAR SIR,—I was plung'd in a deep fit of melancholy, Saturn had cast his black influence o'er all my intellectuals, methought I felt my heart as a lump of dough, and heavy as lead within my breast; when a letter of yours of the third of this month was brought me, which presently begot new spirits within me, and made such strong impressions upon my intellectuals, that it turn'd and transformed me into another man. I have read of a Duke of Milan and others, who were poisoned by reading of a letter; but yours produc'd contrary effects in me, it became an antidote, or rather a most sovereign cordial to me, more operative than bezoar,¹ of more virtue than potable gold, or the elixir of

¹ An animal concretion, formerly supposed to be an antidote to poison.

amber, for it wrought a sudden cure upon me. That fluent and rare mixture of love and wit, which I found up and down therein, were the ingredients of this cordial; they were as so many choice flowers strewed here and there, which did cast such an odoriferous scent, that they reviv'd all my senses, and dispelled those dull fumes which had formerly o'er-clouded my brain: such was the operation of your most ingenious and affectionate letter, and so sweet entertainment it gave me. If your letter had that virtue, what would your person have done? And did you know all, you would wish your person here a while; did you know the rare beauty of this Virgin City, you would quickly make love to her, and change your Royal Exchange for the Rialto, and your Gray's-Inn Walks for St. Mark's Place, for a time. Farewell, dear child of virtue, and minion of the Muses; and love still—Yours,

J. H.

Venice, 1 *July*, 1621

XXXIII.

*To my much honour'd Friend, Sir John North,
Knight.*

NOBLE SIR,—The first office of gratitude is, to *receive* a good turn civilly, then to *retain* it in memory and acknowledge it; thirdly, to endeavour a requital; for this last office, it is in vain for me to attempt it; specially towards you, who have laden me with such a variety of courtesies and weighty favours, that my poor stock comes far short of any retaliation: but for the other two, *reception* and *retention*, as I am not conscious to have been wanting in the first act, so I shall never fail in the second, because both these are within the compass of my power; for if you could pry into my memory, you should discover there a huge magazine of your favours (you have been pleas'd to do me, present and absent), safely stor'd up and coacervated¹ to preserve them from mouldering away in oblivion; for courtesies should be no perishable commodity.

¹ Lat. *acervus*, a heap.

Should I attempt any other requital, I should extenuate your favours, and derogate from the worth of them ; yet if to this of the memory, I can contribute any other act of body or mind, to enlarge my acknowledgments towards you, you may be well assured that I shall be ever ready to court any occasion, whereby the world may know how much I am—Your thankful servitor,

J. H.

Venice, 13 *July*, 1621.

XXXIV.

To Dan. Caldwell, Esq.; from Venice.

MY DEAR DAN.,—Could letters fly with the same wings as Love useth to do, and cut the air with the like swiftness of motion, this letter of mine should work a miracle, and be with you in an instant ; nor should she fear interception or any other casualty in the way, or cost you one penny the post, for she should pass invisibly : but 'tis not fitting, that paper which is made but of old rags, wherewith letters are swaddled, should have the same privilege as Love, which is a spiritual thing,

having something of divinity in it, and partakes in celerity with the imagination, than which there is not anything more swift, you know, no not the motion of the upper sphere, the *primum mobile*, which snatcheth all the other nine after, and indeed the whole macrocosm, all the world besides, except our earth (the centre) which upper sphere the astronomers would have to move so many degrees, so many thousand miles in a moment. Since then letters are deny'd such a velocity, I allow this of mine twenty days, which is the ordinary time allow'd betwixt Venice and London, to come unto you, and thank you a thousand times over for your last of the tenth of June, and the rich Venison Feast you made, as I understand, not long since, to the remembrance of me, at the *Ship Tavern*. Believe it, Sir, you shall find that this love of yours is not ill employ'd, for I esteem it at the highest degree, I value it more than the Treasury of St. Mark, which I lately saw, where among other things there is a huge iron chest as tall as myself that hath no lock, but a crevice thro' which they cast in the gold that's

bequeath'd to St. Mark in legacies, whereon
there is engraven this proud Motto,

*Quando questo scrinio S'apria,
Tutto 'l mundo tremera.*

When this chest shall open, the whole world shall tremble. The Duke of Ossuna, late Viceroy of Naples, did what he could to force them to open it, for he brought St. Mark to waste much of this treasure in the late wars, which he made purposely to that end; which made them have recourse to us, and the Hollander, for ships, not long since.

Among the rest of Italy, this is call'd the Maiden City (notwithstanding her great number of courtesans) and there is a prophecy, 'That she should continue a Maid until her husband forsake her,' meaning the Sea, to whom the Pope marry'd her long since; and the Sea is observ'd not to love her so *deeply* as he did, for he begins to shrink, and grows shallower in some places about her: nor doth the Pope also, who was the father that gave her to the Sea, affect her so much as he formerly did, specially since the extermination

of the Jesuits : so that both husband and father begin to abandon her.

I am to be a guest to this hospitable Maid a good while yet, and if you want any commodity that she can afford (and what cannot she afford for human pleasure or delight?) do but write, and it shall be sent you.

Farewell, gentle soul, and correspond still in pure love with—Your, J. H.

Venice, 29 July, 1621.

XXXV.

To Sir James Crofts, Knight ; from Venice.

SIR,—I receiv'd one of yours the last week, that came in my Lord Ambassador Wotton's packet ; and being now upon point of parting with Venice, I could not do it without acquainting you (as far as the extent of a letter will permit) with her power, her policy, her wealth and pedigree. She was built out of the ruins of Aquileia and Padua ; for when those swarms of tough northern people overran Italy, under the conduct of that scourge of heaven, Attila, with others, and that this soft

voluptuous nation after so long a desuetude from arms, could not repel their fury, many of the antient nobility and gentry fled into these lakes and little islands, amongst the fishermen, for their security ; and finding the air good and commodious for habitation, they began to build upon those small islands, whereof there are in all threescore ; and in tract of time, they conjoin'd and leagu'd them together by bridges, whereof there are now above eight hundred ; and this makes up the city of Venice, who is now above twelve ages old, and was contemporary with the Monarchy of France : but the Signory glorieth in one thing above the Monarchy, that she was born a Christian, but the Monarchy not. Tho' this city be thus hemm'd in with the sea, yet she spreads her wings far and wide upon the shore ; she hath in Lombardy six considerable towns, Padua, Verona, Vicenza, Brescia, Cremona, and Bergamo ; she hath in the Marquisate, Bassano, and Castelfranco ; she hath all Friuli and Istria ; she commands the shores of Dalmatia and Sclavonia ; she keeps under the power of St. Mark the islands of Corfu (antiently Corcyra) Cephalonia, Zante, Cerigo,

Lucerigo, and Candy (Jove's Cradle) ; she had a long time the kingdom of Cyprus, but it was quite rent from her by the Turk : which made that high-spirited Bassa,¹ being taken prisoner at the battle of Lepanto, where the Grand Signior lost above 200 galleys, to say, 'That that defeat to his great Master was but like the shaving of his beard, or the paring of his nails ; but the taking of Cyprus was like the cutting off of a limb, which will never grow again.' This mighty potentate being so near a neighbour to her, she is forc'd to comply with him, and give him an annual present in gold : she hath about thirty galleys most part of the year in course to scour and secure the Gulf ; she entertains by land, in Lombardy, and other parts, 25,000 foot, besides some of the cantons of Suisses whom she gives pay to ; she hath also in constant pay 600 men of arms, and every of these must keep two horses a-piece, for which they are allow'd 120 ducats a year, and they are for the most part gentlemen of Lombardy. When they have any great expedition to make, they have

¹ Bashaw, or Pasha.

always a stranger for their general, but he is supervis'd by two *proveditors*, without whom he cannot attempt anything.

Her great council consists of above 2,000 gentlemen, and some of them meet every Sunday and holiday to chose officers and magistrates; and every gentleman, being pass'd twenty-five years of age, is capable to sit in this council. The Doge, or Duke (their sovereign magistrate) is chosen by lots, which would be too tedious here to demonstrate; and commonly he is an aged man, who is created like that course they hold in the Popedom. When he is dead, there be Inquisitors that examine his actions, and his misdemeanours are punishable in his heirs. There is a Surintendant Council of Ten, and six of them may dispatch business without the Doge: but the Doge never without some of them, not as much as open a letter from any foreign State, tho' address'd to himself; which makes him to be call'd by other Princes, *Testa di legno*, A Head of Wood.

The wealth of this Republic hath been at a stand, or rather declining since the Portugal

found a road to the East Indies by the Cape of Good-Hope ; for this city was us'd to fetch all those spices and other Indian commodities from Grand Cairo down the Nile, being formerly carry'd to Cairo from the Red Sea upon camels' and dromedaries' backs, threescore days' journey : and so Venice us'd to dispense those commodities thro' all Christendom, which not only the Portugal, but the English and Hollander now transport, and are masters of the trade. Yet there is no outward appearance at all of poverty, or any decay in this city ; but she is still gay, flourishing, and fresh, and flowing with all kind of bravery and delight, which may be had at cheap rates. Much more might be written of this antient wise Republic, which cannot be comprehended within the narrow inclosure of a letter. So with my due and daily prayers for a continuance of your health, and increase of honour, I rest,—Your most humble and ready servitor,

J. H.

Venice, 1 *August*, 1621.

XXXVI.

*To Robert Brown, Esq., at the Middle-Temple;
from Venice.*

ROBIN,—I have now enough of the Maiden City, and this week I am to go further into Italy: for tho' I have been a good while in Venice, yet I cannot say I have been hitherto upon the Continent of Italy; for this city is nought else but a knot of islands in the Adriatic Sea, join'd in one body by bridges, and a good way distant from the firm land. I have lighted upon very choice company, your cousin Brown, and Master Web; and we all take the road of Lombardy, but we made an order among ourselves, that our discourse be always in the language of the country, under penalty of a forfeiture, which is to be indispensably paid. Randal Symns made us a curious feast lately, where, in a cup of the richest Greek, we had your health, and I could not tell whether the wine or the remembrance of you was sweeter; for it was naturally a kind of aromatic wine, which left a fragrant

perfuming kind of farewell behind it. I have sent you a runlet of it in the ship *Lion*, and if it come safe, and unprick'd, I pray bestow some bottles upon the lady (you know) with my humble service. When you write next to Mr. Symns, I pray acknowledge the good hospitality and extraordinary civilities I receiv'd from him. Before I conclude, I will acquaint you with a common saying that is used of this dainty City of Venice.

*Venetia, Venetia, chi non te vede non te Pregia,
Ma chi t'ha troppo veduto te Dispreggia.*

English'd and rhym'd thus (tho' I know you need no translation, you understand so much of Italian) :

Venice, Venice, none thee unseen can prize ;
Who hath seen too much will thee despise.

I will conclude with that famous Hexastich which Sanazzaro made of this great city, which pleaseth me much better :

*Viderat Hadriacis Venetam Neptunus in undis
Stare Urbem, & toti ponere jura Mari ;
Nunc mihi Tarpeias quantum vis, Jupiter, Arces
Objice & illa tui mænia Martis ait,
Sic Pelago Tibrim præfers, Urbem aspice utramque,
Illam homines dices, hanc posuisse Deos.*

When Neptune saw in Adrian surges stand
Venice, and give the sea laws of command :
Now, Jove, said he, object thy Capitol,
And Mars' proud walls : this were for to extol
Tiber beyond the main, both towns behold ;
Rome men thou'lt say, Venice the Gods did mould.

Sanazzaro had given him by St. Mark a hundred *Zecchins* for every one of these verses, which amounts to about 300*l* ; it would be long before the city of London would do the like ; witness that cold reward, or rather those cold drops of water which were cast upon my countryman, Sir Hugh Middleton, for bringing Ware River thro' her streets, the most serviceable and wholesomest benefit that ever she receiv'd.

The parcel of Italian books that you write for, you shall receive from Mr. Leat, if it please God to send the ship to safe port ; and I take it as a favour, that you employ me in any thing that may conduce to your contentment, because—I am your serious servitor,
J. H.

Venice, 12 *August*, 1621.

XXXVII.

To Capt. Thomas Porter ; from Venice.

MY DEAR CAPTAIN,—As I was going a-ship-board in Alicante, a letter of yours in Spanish came to hand : I discovered two things in it, first, what a master you are of that language ; then, how mindful you are of your friend. For the first, I dare not correspond with you yet : for the second, I shall never come short of you, for I am as mindful of you, as possibly you can be of me, and some hours my pulse doth not beat more often, than my memory runs on you, which is often enough in conscience ; for the physicians hold, that in every well dispos'd body there be above 4,000 pulsations every hour, and some pulses have been known to beat above 30,000 times an hour in acute fevers.

I understand you are bound with a gallant fleet for the Mediterranean ; if you come to Alicante, I pray commend me to Francisco Marco, my Landlord, he is a merry drole and good company. One night when I was there,

he sent his boy with a *Borracha* of leather under his cloak for wine; the boy coming back about ten o'clock, and passing by the guard, one ask'd him whether he carry'd any weapons about him (for none must wear any weapons there after ten at night) 'No,' quoth the boy being pleasant, 'I have but a little dagger;' the Watch came and search'd him, and finding the *Borracha* full of good wine, drunk it all up, saying, 'Sirrah, you know no man must carry any weapons so late; but because we know whose servant you are, there's the scabbard of your dagger again'; and so threw him the empty *Borracha*. But another passage pleased me better of Don Beltran de Rosa, who being to marry a rich *Labrador's* (a yeoman's) daughter hard by, who was much importun'd by her parents to the match, because their family should be thereby ennobled, he being a cavalier of St. Iago; the young maid having understood that Don Beltran had been in Naples * * *¹ answer'd wittily, '*En verdad por adobar me la sangre, no quiero dannarmi la carne.*' 'Truly, sir, to

¹ With unfortunate results.

better my blood, I will not hurt my flesh.' I doubt I shall not be in England before you set out to sea ; if not, I take my leave of you in this paper, and wish you a prosperous voyage, and an honourable return. It is the hearty prayer of—Your, J. H.

Venice, 21 *August*, 1621.

XXXVIII.

To Sir William St. John, Knight; from Rome.

SIR,—Having seen Antenor's tomb in Padua, and the Amphitheatre of Flaminius in Verona, with other brave towns in Lombardy, I am now come to Rome ; and Rome, they say, is every man's country, she is called *Communis Patria* ; for every one that is within the compass of the Latin Church finds himself here, as it were, at home, and in his mother's house, in regard of interest in religion, which is the cause that for one native, there be five strangers that sojourn in this city ; and without any distinction or mark of strangeness, they come to preferments and offices, both in church

and state, according to merit, which is more valued and sought after here than anywhere.

But whereas I expected to have found Rome elevated upon seven hills, I met her rather spreading upon a flat, having humbled herself since she was made a Christian, and descended from those hills to Campus Martius; with Trastevere, and the suburbs of St. Peter, she hath yet in compass about fourteen miles, which is far short of that vast circuit she had in Claudius his time: for Vopiscus writes, she was then of fifty miles circumference, and she had five hundred thousand free citizens, in a famous cense¹ that was made; which, allowing but six to every family, in women, children, and servants, came to three million of souls: but she is now a wilderness in comparison of that number. The Pope is grown to be a great temporal prince of late years, for the State of the Church extends above 300 miles in length, and 200 miles in breadth; it contains Ferrara, Bologna, Romagna, the Marquisate of Ancona, Umbria, Sabina, Perugia, with a part of Tuscany, the Patrimony, Rome her-

¹ Census.

self, and Latium. In these there are above fifty bishoprics; the Pope hath also the Duchy of Spoleto, and the Exarchate of Ravenna; he hath the town of Benevento in the Kingdom of Naples, and the country of Venisse, call'd Avignon, in France; he hath title also good enough to Naples itself, but rather than offend his champion the King of Spain, he is contented with a white mule, and purse of pistoles about the neck, which he receives every year for a herriot or homage, or what you will call it: he pretends also to be Lord Paramount of Sicily, Urbin, Parma, and Maseran, of Norway, Ireland and England, since King John did prostrate our Crown at Pandulfo his legate's feet.

The State of the Apostolic See here in Italy lies betwixt two seas, the Adriatic and the Tyrrhene; and it runs thro' the midst of Italy, which makes the Pope powerful to do good or harm, and more capable than any other to be an umpire or an enemy. His authority being mix'd betwixt temporal and spiritual, disperseth itself into so many members, that a young man may grow old

here, before he can well understand the form of government.

The consistory of cardinals meet but once a week, and once a week they solemnly wait all upon the Pope. I am told there are now in Christendom but sixty-eight cardinals, whereof there are six cardinal-bishops, fifty-one cardinal-priests, and eleven cardinal-deacons. The cardinal-bishops attend and sit near the Pope, when he celebrates any festival. The cardinal-priests assist him at mass, and the cardinal-deacons attire him. A cardinal is made by a short breve or writ from the Pope, in these words, *Creamus te Socium Regibus, superiorem Ducibus, & fratrem nostrum.* 'We create thee a companion to kings, superior to dukes, and our brother.' If a cardinal-bishop should be question'd for any offence, there must be twenty-four witnesses produced against him.

The Bishop of Ostia hath most privilege of any other, for he consecrates and installs the Pope, and goes always next to him. All these cardinals have the repute of princes, and besides other incomes, they have the annats of benefices to support their greatness.

For point of power, the Pope is able to put 50,000 men in the field, in case of necessity, besides his naval strength in galleys. We read how Paul III. sent Charles V. 12,000 foot, and 5,000 horse. Pius V. sent a greater aid to Charles IX., and for riches, besides the temporal dominions, he hath in all the countries before-nam'd, the datary or dispatching of Bulls. The triennial subsidies, annats, and other ecclesiastic rights, mount to an unknown sum ; and it is a common saying here, that as long as the Pope can finger a pen, he can want no pence. Pius V., notwithstanding his expenses in buildings, left four millions in the Castle of St. Angelo, in less than five years, more I believe than this Gregory XV. will, for he hath many nephews ; and better it is to be the Pope's nephew, than to be favourite to any prince in Christendom.

Touching the temporal government of Rome, and oppidan affairs, there is a pretor, and some choice citizens, which sit in the Capitol. Among other pieces of policy, there is a Synagogue of Jews permitted here (as in other places of Italy) under the Pope's nose, but

they go with a mark of distinction in their hats: they are tolerated for advantage of commerce, wherein the Jews are wonderful dexterous, tho' most of them be only brokers and Lombardeers; and they are held to be here, as the Cynic held women to be, *malum necessarium*. There be few of the Romans that use to pray heartily for the Pope's long life, in regard the oftener the change is, the more advantageous it is for the city, because commonly it brings strangers, and a recruit of new people. This air of Rome is not so wholesome as of old; and among other reasons, one is, because of the burning of stubble to fatten their fields. For her antiquities, it would take up a whole volume to write them; those which I hold the chiefest are, Vespasian's Amphitheatre, where eighty thousand people might sit; the stoves of Anthony, divers rare statues at Belveder and St. Peter's, especially that of Laocoon, the Obelisk; for the genius of the Roman hath always been much taken with imagery, limning, and sculptures, inso-much that as in former times, so now, I believe the statues and pictures in Rome exceed the

number of living people. One antiquity, among others, is very remarkable, because of the change of language; which is an antient column erected as a trophy for Duillius the Consul, after a famous naval victory obtained against the Carthaginians in the second Punic War, where these words are engraven, and remain legible to this day: *Exemet lecoines Macistrates Castreis exfoicent pugnandod capet enque, navebos marid Consul, &c.*, and half-a-dozen lines after, it is call'd *Columna restrata*, having the beaks and proes of ships engraven up and down; whereby it appears, that the Latin then spoken was much differing from that which was us'd in Cicero's time, 150 years after. Since the dismembering of the Empire, Rome hath run thro' many vicissitudes and turns of fortune: and had it not been for the residence of the Pope, I believe she had become a heap of stones, a mount of rubbish by this time; and howsoever that she bears up indifferent well, yet one may say,

*Qui miseranda videt veteris vestigia Romæ,
Ille potest merito dicere Roma fuit.*

They who the ruins of first Rome behold,
May say, Rome is not now, but was of old.

Present Rome may be said to be but the monument of Rome past, when she was in that flourish that St. Austin desired to see her in : she who tam'd the world, tam'd herself at last, and falling under her own weight, fell to be a prey to time ; yet there is a providence seems to have a care of her still ; for tho' her air be not so good, nor her circumjacent soil so kindly as it was, yet she hath wherewith to keep life and soul together still, by her Ecclesiastic Courts, which is the sole cause of her peopling now. So it may be said when the Pope came to be her head, she was reduced to her first principles ; for as a shepherd was founder, so a shepherd is still her governor and preserver. But whereas the French have an odd saying, That

Jamais cheval ny homme

S'amenda pour aller à Rome ;

Ne'er horse nor man did mend,

That unto Rome did wend :

Truly I must confess, that I find myself much better'd by it ; for the sight of some of these ruins did fill me with symptoms of mortification, and made me more sensible of the frailty

of all sublunary things, how all bodies, as well inanimate as animate, are subject to dissolution and change, and everything else under the moon, except the love of—Your faithful servitor,

J. H.

13 *September*, 1621.

XXXIX.

To Sir T. H. Knight; from Naples.

SIR,—I am now in the gentle city of Naples, a city swelling with all delight, gallantry, and wealth; and truly, in my opinion, the King of Spain's greatness appears here more eminently than in Spain itself. This is a delicate luxurious city, fuller of true bred cavaliers than any place I saw yet. The clime is hot, and the constitutions of the inhabitants more hot.

The Neapolitan is accounted the best courtier of ladies, and the greatest embracer of pleasure of any other people: they say there are no less here than twenty thousand courtesans registered in the Office of Savelli. This kingdom, with Calabria, may be said to be the one moiety of

Italy ; it extends itself 450 miles, and spreads in breadth 112 ; it contains 2,700 towns, it hath 20 archbishops, 127 bishops, 13 princes, 24 dukes, 25 marquises, and 800 barons. There are three presidial castles in this city ; and tho' the kingdom abound in rich staple commodities, as silks, cottons, and wine, and that there is a mighty revenue comes to the crown ; yet the King of Spain, when he casts up his account at the year's end, makes but little benefit thereof, for it is eaten up 'twixt governors, garrisons, and officers. He is forced to maintain 4,000 Spanish foot, called the *Tercia* of Naples ; in the castles he hath 1,600 in perpetual garrison ; he hath a thousand men of arms, 450 light horse ; besides, there are five footmen enrolled for every hundred fire : and he had need to do all this, to keep this voluptuous people in awe ; for the story musters up seven and twenty famous rebellions of the Neapolitans in less than 300 years ; but now they pay soundly for it, for one shall hear them groan up and down under the Spanish yoke. And commonly the King of Spain sends some of his grandees hither to repair their de-

cayed fortunes; whence the saying sprung, 'That the Viceroy of Sicily gnaws, the Governor of Milan eats, but the Viceroy of Naples devours.' Our English merchants here bear a considerable trade, and their factors live in better equipage, and in a more splendid manner than in all Italy besides, than their masters and principals in London: they ruffle in silks and satins, and wear good Spanish leather-shoes, while their masters' shoes upon our Exchange in London shine with blacking. At Pozzuoli, not far off amongst the *Grottoes*, there are so many strange stupendous things, that Nature herself seem'd to have study'd of purpose how to make herself there admir'd: I reserve the discoursing of them, with the nature of the Tarantula, and Manna, which is gather'd here and nowhere else, with other things, till I see you, for they are fitter for discourses than a letter. I will conclude with a proverb they have in Italy for this people:

Napolitano

Largo di bocca, stretto di mano.

The Neapolitans.

Have wide mouths, but narrow hands.

They make strong masculine promises, but female performances (for deeds are men, but words are women), and if in a whole flood of compliments one find a drop of reality, 'tis well. The first acceptance of a courtesy is accounted the greatest incivility that can be amongst them, and a ground for a quarrel ; as I heard of a German gentleman that was baffled for accepting one only invitation to a dinner. So desiring to be preserv'd still in your good opinion, and in the rank of your servants, I rest always most ready at your disposing,

J. H.

1 October, 1621.

XL.

*To Christopher Jones, Esq., at Gray's-Inn ;
from Naples.*

HONOURED FATHER,—I must still style you so, since I was adopted your son by so good a mother as Oxford : my mind lately prompted me, that I should commit a great solecism, if amongst the rest of my friends in England, I should leave you unsaluted, whom I love so

dearly well, specially having such a fair and pregnant opportunity as the hand of this worthy gentleman, your cousin Morgan, who is now posting hence for England. He will tell you how it fares with me ; how any time these thirty odd months I have been toss'd from shore to shore, and pass'd under various meridians, and am now in this voluptuous and luxuriant city of Naples. And tho' these frequent removes and tumblings under climes of differing temper were not without some danger, yet the delight which accompany'd them was far greater ; and it is impossible for any man to conceive the true pleasure of peregrination, but he who actually enjoys, and puts it in practice. Believe it, Sir, that one year well employed abroad by one of mature judgment (which you know I want very much) advantageth more in point of useful and solid knowledge than three in any of our universities. You know 'running waters are the purest,' so they that traverse the world up and down have the clearest understanding ; being faithful eye-witnesses of those things which others receive but in trust, whereunto they must yield an intuitive

consent, and a kind of implicit faith. When I pass'd through some parts of Lombardy, amongst other things, I observ'd the physiognomies and complexions of the people, men and women ; and I thought I was in Wales, for divers of them have a cast of countenance, and a nearer resemblance with our nation, than any I ever saw yet : and the reason is obvious, for the Romans having been near upon three hundred years among us, where they had four legions (before the English nation or language had any being) by so long a coalition and tract of time, the two nations must needs copulate and mix : insomuch, that I believe there is yet remaining in Wales many of the Roman race, and divers in Italy of the British. Amongst other resemblances, one was in their prosody, and vein of versifying or riming, which is like our bards, who hold agnominations, and enforcing of consonant words or syllables one upon the other, to be the greatest elegance. As for example, in Welsh, *Tewgris, todyrris ty'r derryyn, gwillt, &c.*, so have I seen divers old rimes in Italian running so : *Donne, O danno, che Felo affronto*

affronta : In selva salvo a me : Piu caro cuore,
&c.

Being lately in Rome, among other pasquils, I met with one that was against the Scots ; tho' it had some gall in't, yet it had a great deal of wit, especially towards the conclusion ; so that I think if King James saw it, he would but laugh at it.

As I remember, some years since there was a very abusive satire in verse brought to our King ; and as the passages were a-reading before him he often said, 'That if there were no more men in England, the rogue should hang for it' : at last being come to the conclusion, which was (after all his railing)

' Now God preserve the King, the Queen, the peers,
And grant the Author long may wear his ears ;'

this pleas'd his Majesty so well, that he broke into a laughter, and said, ' By my soul, so thou shalt for me. Thou art a bitter, but thou art a witty knave.'

When you write to Monmouthshire, I pray send my respects to my tutor, Master Moor Fortune, and my service to Sir Charles

Williams, and according to that relation
which was 'twixt us at Oxford,—I rest your
constant son to serve you, J. H.

8 October, 1621.

XLI.

To Sir J. C. ; from Florence.

SIR,—This letter comes to kiss your hands from fair Florence, a city so beautiful, that the great Emperor Charles V. said, 'That she was fitting to be shown and seen only upon holidays.' She marvellously flourisheth with buildings, with wealth and artisans ; for it is thought that in serges, which is but one commodity, there are made two millions every year. All degrees of people live here not only well, but splendidly well, notwithstanding the manifold exactions of the Duke upon all things. For none can buy here lands or houses, but he must pay eight in the hundred to the Duke ; none can hire or build a house, but he must pay the tenth penny ; none can marry, or commence a suit in law, but there's a fee to the Duke ; none can bring as much as an egg

or sallet to the market, but the Duke hath share therein. Moreover, Leghorn, which is the key of Tuscany, being a maritime and a great mercantile town, hath mightily enrich'd this country, by being a frank port to all comers, and a safe rendezvous to pirates as well as to merchants. Add hereunto, that the Duke himself in some respect is a merchant; for he sometimes ingrosseth all the corn of the country, and retails it at what rate he pleaseth. This enables the Duke to have perpetually 20,000 men enroll'd, train'd up, and paid, and none but they can carry arms; he hath 400 light-horse in constant pay, and 100 men-at-arms besides; and all these quarter'd in so narrow a compass, that he can command them all to Florence in twenty-four hours. He hath twelve galleys, two galleons, and six galeasses besides; and his galleys are called the Black Fleet, because they annoy the Turk more in the bottom of the Straits, than any other.

This State is bound to keep good quarter with the Pope more than others; for all Tuscany is fenc'd by nature herself, I mean

with mountains, except towards the territories of the Apostolic See, and the sea itself: therefore it is call'd, a Country of Iron.

The Duke's palace is so spacious, that it occupieth the room of fifty houses at least; yet tho' his court surpasseth the bounds of a duke's, it reacheth not to the magnificence of a king's. The Pope was solicited to make the Grand Duke a king, and he answer'd, 'That he was content he should be King in Tuscany, not of Tuscany;' whereupon one of his counsellors reply'd, 'That it was a more glorious thing to be a grand duke, than a petty king.'

Among other cities which I desir'd to see in Italy, Genoa was one, where I lately was, and found her to be the proudest for buildings of any I met withal; yet the people go the plainest of any other, and are also most parsimonious in their diet: they are the subtlest, I will not say the most subdalous dealers: they are wonderful wealthy, specially in money. In the year 1600, the King of Spain owed them eighteen millions, and they say it is double as much now.

From the time they began to finger the

Indian gold, and that this town hath been the scale by which he hath conveyed his treasure to Flanders, since the wars in the Netherlands, for the support of his armies, and that she hath got some privileges for the exportation of wools and other commodities (prohibited to others) out of Spain, she hath improv'd extremely in riches, and made St. George's Mount swell higher than St. Mark's in Venice.

She hath been often ill-favouredly shaken by the Venetian, and hath had other enemies, which have put her to hard shifts for her own defence, specially in the time of Lewis XI. of France; at which time, when she would have given herself up to him for protection, King Lewis being told that Genoa was content to be his, he answer'd, 'She should not be his long, for he would give her up to the devil, and rid his hands of her.'

Indeed the Genoese have not the fortune to be so well belov'd as other people in Italy; which proceeds, I believe, from their cunningness and over-reachings in bargaining, wherein they have something of the Jew. The Duke is there but biennial, being chang'd every two

years ; he hath fifty Germans for his guard. There be four centurions that have two men a-piece, which upon occasions attend the Signory abroad, in velvet coats ; there be eight chief governors, and four hundred counsellors, among whom there be five sovereign syndics, who have authority to censure the Duke himself, his time being expir'd, and punish any governor else, tho' after death, upon the heir.

Amongst other customs they have in that town, one is, that none must carry a pointed knife about him ; which makes the Hollander, who is us'd to *snik* and *snee*, to leave his horn-sheath and knife a-shipboard when he comes ashore. I meet not with an Englishman in all the town ; nor could I learn of any factor of ours that ever resided here.

There is a notable little active republic towards the midst of Tuscany, call'd Lucca, which in regard she is under the Emperor's protection, he dares not meddle withal, tho' she lie as a partridge under a falcon's wings in relation to the Grand Duke : besides, there is another reason of state, why he meddles not

with her, because she is more beneficial to him now that she is free, and more industrious to support this freedom, than if she were become his vassal ; for then it is probable she would grow more careless and idle, and so could not vent his commodities so soon, which she buys for ready money, wherein most of her wealth consists. There is no state that winds the penny more nimbly, and makes quicker returns.

She hath a council call'd the *Discoli*, which pries into the profession and life of every one, and once a year they rid the state of all vagabonds : so that this petty pretty republic may not be improperly parallel'd to a hive of bees, which have been always the emblems of industry and order.

In this splendid city of Florence, there be many rarities, which if I should insert in this letter, it would make her swell too big ; and indeed they are fitten for parole communication. Here is the prime dialect of the Italian spoken, tho' the pronunciation be a little more guttural than that of Siena, and that of the court of Rome, which occasions the proverb,

Lingua Toscana in bocca Romana.

The Tuscan tongue sounds best in a Roman mouth.

The people here generally seem to be more generous, and of a higher comportment than elsewhere, very cautious and circumspect in their negotiation ; whence ariseth the proverb,

*Chi ha da far con Tosco,
Non bisogna che sia Losco.*

Who dealeth with a Florentine,
Must have the use of both his ey'n.

I shall bid Italy farewell now very shortly, and make my way o'er the Alps to France, and so home by God's grace, to take a review of my friends in England : amongst whom the sight of yourself will be as gladsome to me as of any other : for I profess myself, and purpose to be ever—Your thrice affectionate servitor,
J. H.

1 November, 1621.

XLII.

To Capt. Francis Bacon ; from Turin.

SIR,—I am now upon point of shaking hands with Italy ; for I am come to Turin, having

already seen Venice the rich, Padua the learned, Bologna the fat, Rome the holy, Naples the gentle, Genoa the proud, Florence the fair, and Milan the great ; from this last I came hither, and in that city also appears the grandeur of Spain's monarchy very much. The governor of Milan is always captain-general of the cavalry to the King of Spain, thro'out Italy. The Duke of Feria is now governor ; and being brought to kiss his hands, he us'd me with extraordinary respect, as he doth all of our nation, being by maternal side a Dormer. The Spaniard entertains there also 3,000 foot, 1,000 light-horse, and 600 men-at-arms in perpetual pay ; so that I believe the benefit of that duchy also, tho' seated in the richest soil of Italy, hardly countervails the charge. Three things are admir'd in Milan, the Dome, or great Church, (built all of white marble, within and without) the hospital, and the Castle by which the Citadel of Antwerp was trac'd, and is the best condition'd fortress of Christendom ; tho' Nova Palma, a late fortress of the Venetian, would go beyond it ; which is built according to the exact rules of

the most modern enginry, being of a round form, with nine bastions, and a street level to every bastion.

The Duke of Savoy, tho' he pass for one of the princes of Italy, yet the least part of his territories lie there, being squander'd up and down amongst the Alps; but as much as he hath in Italy, which is Piedmont, is a well peopled, and passing good country.

The Duke of Savoy, Emanuel, is accounted to be of the antientest and purest extraction of any prince in Europe; and his Knights also of the Annunciade, to be one of the antientest orders: tho' this present Duke be little in stature, yet is he of a lofty spirit, and one of the best soldiers now living; and tho' he be valiant enough, yet he knows how to patch the lion's skin with a fox's tail. And whosoever is Duke of Savoy had need be cunning, and more than any other prince; in regard, that lying between two potent neighbours, the French and the Spaniard, he must comply with both.

Before I wean myself from Italy, a word or two touching the genius of the Nation. I find the Italian a degree higher in compliment

than the French ; he is longer and more grave in the delivery of it, and more prodigal of words ; insomuch, that if one were to be worded to death, Italian is the fittest language, in regard of the fluency and softness of it: for thro'out the whole body of it, you have not a word ends with a consonant, except some few monosyllable conjunctions and prepositions, and this renders the speech more smooth ; which made one say 'That when the confusion of tongues happen'd at the building of the Tower of Babel, if the Italian had been there, Nimrod had made him a plasterer.' They are generally indulgent of themselves, and great embracers of pleasure, which may proceed from the luscious rich wines, and luxurious food, fruits, and roots, wherewith the country abounds ; insomuch, that in some places, nature may be said to be *Lena sui*, A bawd to herself. The Cardinal de Medicis's rule is of much authority among them, 'That there is no religion under the navel.' And some of them are of the opinion of the Asians, who hold, that touching those natural passions, desires, and motions, which run up and down

in the blood, God Almighty, and his handmaid nature, did not intend they should be a torment to us, but to be used with comfort and delight. To conclude, in Italy there be *Virtutes magnæ, nec minora vitia*; Great virtues, and no less vices.

So, with a tender of my most affectionate respects unto you, I rest,—Your humble servitor,

J. H.

30 November, 1621.

XLIII.

To Sir J. H. ; from Lyons.

SIR,—I am now got o'er the Alps, and return'd to France; I had cross'd and clamber'd up the Pyreneans to Spain before; they are not so high and hideous as the Alps: but for our mountains in Wales, as Eppint, and Penwinmaur, which are so much cry'd up among us, they are molehills in comparison of these; they are but pigmies compar'd to giants, but blisters compar'd to imposthumes, or pimples to warts. Besides, our mountains in Wales bear always something useful to man or

beast, some grass at least ; but these uncouth huge monstrous excrescences of nature bear nothing (most of them) but craggy stones : the tops of some of them are blanched over all the year long with snows ; and the people who dwell in the valleys, drinking, for want of other, this snow water, are subject to a strange swelling in the throat, called *goytre*, which is common among them.

As I scal'd the Alps, my thoughts reflected upon Hannibal, who with vinegar and strong waters, did eat out a passage thro' those hills ; but of late years they have found a speedier way to do it by gunpowder.

Being at Turin, I was by some disaster brought to an extreme low ebb in money, so that I was forc'd to foot it along with some pilgrims, and with gentle pace and easy journeys, to climb up those hills, till I came to this town of Lyons, where a countryman of ours, one Mr. Lewis, whom I knew in Alicante, lives factor ; so that now I want not anything for my accommodation.

This is a stately rich town, and a renowned mart for the silks of Italy, and other Levantine

commodities, and a great bank for money, and indeed the greatest of France. Before this bank was founded, which was by Henry I., France had but little gold and silver; inso-much that we read how King John, their captive king, could not in four years raise sixty thousand crowns to pay his ransom to our King Edward. And St. Lewis was in the same case when he was prisoner in Egypt, where he had left the sacrament for a gage. But after this bank was erected, it filled France full of money; they of Lucca, Florence, and Genoa, with the Venetian, got quickly over the hills, and brought their moneys hither, to get twelve in the hundred profit; which was the interest at first, tho' it be now much lower.

In this great mercantile town, there be two deep, navigable rivers, the Rhone and the Saone; the one hath a swift rapid course, the other slow and smooth: and one day, as I walk'd upon their banks, and observ'd so much difference in their course, I fell into a contemplation of the humours of the French and Spaniard, how they might be, not improperly,

compar'd to these rivers; the French to the swift, the Spaniard to the slow river.

I shall write you no more letters, until I present myself to you for a speaking letter, which I shall do as soon as I may tread London stones.—Your affectionate servitor,
J. H.

6 November, 1621.

XLIV.

To Mr. Tho. Bowyer; from Lyons.

BEING so near the Lake of Geneva, curiosity would carry any one to see it: the inhabitants of that town, methinks, are made of another paste, differing from the affable nature of those people I had convers'd withal formerly; they have one policy, lest that their petty Republic should be pester'd with fugitives, their law is, 'That what stranger soever flies thither for sanctuary, he is punishable there, in the same degree as in the country where he committed the offence.'

Geneva is govern'd by four Syndics, and four hundred senators. She lies like a bone

'twixt three mastiffs, the Emperor, the French King, and the Duke of Savoy ; they all three look upon the bone, but neither of them dare touch it singly, for fear the other two would fly upon him. But they say the Savoyard hath the justest title ; for there are imperial records extant, 'That altho' the Bishops of Geneva were lords spiritual and temporal, yet they should acknowledge the Duke of Savoy for their superior.' This man's ancestors went frequently to the town, and the keys were presently tender'd to them. But since Calvin's time, who had been once banish'd and then called in again, which made him to apply that speech to himself, 'The stone which the builders refused is become the head-stone of the corner ;' I say, since they were refin'd by Calvin, they seem to shun and scorn all the world besides, being cast, as it were, into another mould, which hath quite alter'd their very natural disposition in point of moral society.

The next week I am to go down the Loire towards Paris, and thence as soon as I can for England, where, amongst the rest of my

friends, whom I so much long to see after this triennial separation, you are like to be one of my first objects. In the meantime, I wish the same happiness may attend you at home, as I desire to attend me homeward ; for I am
—Truly yours, J. H.

5 December, 1621.

SECTION II.

I.

To my Father.

SIR,—It hath pleased God, after almost three years peregrination by land and sea, to bring me back safely to London ; but altho' I am come safely, I am come sickly : for when I landed in Venice, after so long a sea-voyage from Spain, I was afraid the same defluxion of salt rheum which fell from my temples into my throat in Oxford, and distilling upon the uvula impeach'd my utterance a little to this day, had found the same channel again ; which caused me to have an issue made in my left arm for the diversion of the humour. I was well ever after till I came to Rouen, and there I fell sick of a pain in the head, which, with the issue, I have carry'd with me to

England. Dr. Harvey¹ who is my physician, tells me, that it may turn to a consumption, therefore he hath stopp'd the issue, telling me there is no danger at all in it, in regard I have not worn it a full twelvemonth. My brother, I thank him, hath been very careful of me in this my sickness, and hath come often to visit me. I thank God I have pass'd the brunt of it, and am recovering and picking up my crumbs apace. There is a flaunting French ambassador come over lately, and I believe his errand is nought else but compliment ; for the King of France being lately at Calais, and so in sight of England, he sent his ambassador M. Cadenet, expressly to visit our King : he had audience two days since, where he, with his train of ruffling long-hair'd monsieurs, carry'd himself in such a light garb, that after the audience, the King ask'd my Lord Keeper Bacon what he thought of the French ambassador ; he answer'd, 'That he was a tall

¹ This was, doubtless, the celebrated discoverer of the circulation of the blood, who was about this time just rising into fame, and who had but very recently returned from Padua, where most probably he had met Howell.

proper man :’ ‘Ay,’ his Majesty reply’d, ‘but what think you of his head-piece? is he a proper man for the office of an ambassador?’ ‘Sir,’ said Bacon, ‘tall men are like high houses of four or five stories, wherein commonly the uppermost room is worst furnish’d.’

So desiring my brothers and sisters, with the rest of my cousins and friends in the country, may be acquainted with my safe return to England, and that you would please to let me hear from you by the next conveniency, I rest
—Your dutiful son, J. H.

London, 2 February, 1621.

II.

To Rich. Altham, Esq., at Norberry.

Salve pars animæ dimidiata mee; Hail, half my soul, my dear Dick, &c. I was no sooner returned to the sweet bosom of England, and had breath’d the smoke of this town, but my memory ran suddenly on you; the idea of you hath almost ever since so fill’d up and engross’d my imagination, that I can think on nothing else; the love of you swells both in my

breast and brain with such a pregnancy, that nothing can deliver me of this violent high passion but the sight of you. Let me despair if I lie, there was never female long'd more after any thing by reason of her growing *embryon*, than I do for your presence. Therefore I pray you make haste to save my longing, and tantalize me no longer ('tis but three hours riding), for the sight of you will be more precious to me than any one object I have seen (and I have seen many rare ones) in all my three years' travel; and if you take this for a compliment (because I am newly come from France) you are much mistaken in—
Your, J. H.

London, 1 *February*, 1621.

III.

To D. Caldwell, Esq., at Battersay.

MY DEAR DAN.,—I am come at last to London, but not without some danger, and thro' divers difficulties; for I fell sick in France, and came so over to Kent. And my journey from the sea-side hither was more

tedious to me, than from Rome to Rouen, where I grew first indisposed ; and in good faith, I cannot remember any thing to this hour how I came from Gravesend hither, I was so stupefy'd, and had lost the knowledge of all things ; but I am come to myself indifferently well since, I thank God for it, and you cannot imagine how much the sight of you, much more your society, would revive me. Your presence would be a cordial to me more restorative than exalted gold, more precious than the powder of pearl ; whereas your absence, if it continue long, will prove to me like the dust of diamonds, which is incurable poison. I pray be not accessory to my death, but hasten to comfort your so long weather-beaten friend,—Your,

J. H.

London 1 *February*, 1621.

IV.

*To Sir James Crofts, at the Lord Darcy's in
St. Osith.*

SIR,—I am got again safely to this side of the sea, and tho' I was in a very sickly case

when I first arriv'd, yet thanks be to God I am upon point of perfect recovery, whereunto the sucking in of English air, and the sight of some friends, conduc'd not a little.

There is fearful news come from Germany ; you know how the Bohemians shook off the Emperor's yoke, and how the great Council of Prague fell to such a hurly-burly, that some of the Imperial Counsellors were hurl'd out at the windows : you heard also, I doubt not, how they offer'd the crown to the Duke of Saxony, and he waiving it, they sent ambassadors to the Palsgrave, whom they thought might prove *par negotio*, and to be able to go through-stitch with the work in regard of his powerful alliance, the King of Great Britain being his father-in-law, the King of Denmark, the Prince of Orange, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Duke of Bouillon his uncles, the States of Holland his confederates, the French King his friend, and the Duke of Brunswick his near ally. The Prince Palsgrave made some difficulty at first, and most of his counsellors oppos'd it ; others incited him to it, and

among other hortatives, they told him, 'That if he had the courage to venture upon a King of England's sole daughter, he might very well venture upon a sovereign crown when it was tendered him.' Add hereunto, that the States of Holland did mainly advance the work, and there was good reason in policy for it; for their twelve years' truce being then upon point of expiring with Spain, and finding our King so wedded to peace, that nothing could divorce him from it, they lighted upon this design to make him draw his sword, and engage him against the House of Austria for the defence of his sole daughter, and his grandchildren. What his Majesty will do hereafter, I will not presume to foretell; but hitherto he hath given little countenance to the business, nay he utterly mislik'd it at first; for whereas Dr. Hall¹ gave the Prince Palsgrave the title of 'King of Bohemia' in his pulpit-prayer, he had a check for his pains; for I heard his Majesty should say, 'That there is an implicit tie among kings, which obligeth them, tho'

¹ Joseph Hall, afterwards Bishop of Norwich.

there be no other interest or particular engagement, to stick to and right one another upon an insurrection of subjects ; therefore he had more reason to be against the Bohemians, than to adhere to them in the deposition of their Sovereign Prince.' The King of Denmark sings the same note, nor will he also allow him the appellation of king. But the fearful news I told you of at the beginning of this letter is, that there are fresh tidings brought, how the Prince Palsgrave had a well-appointed army of about 25,000 horse and foot near Prague ; but the Duke of Bavaria came with scarce half the number, and notwithstanding his long march, gave them a sudden battle, and utterly routed them : insomuch that the new King of Bohemia, having not worn the crown a whole twelve-month, was forc'd to fly with his Queen and children ; and after many difficulties, they write, that they are come to the Castle of Castein, the Duke of Brandenburg's country, his uncle. This news affects both Court and city here with much heaviness.

I send you my humble thanks for the noble correspondence you were pleased to hold with

me abroad, and I desire to know by the next when you come to London, that I may have the comfort of the sight of you, after so long an absence.—Your true servitor, J. H.

1 *March*, 1621.

V.

To Dr. Fr. Mansell, at All Souls' in Oxford.

I AM return'd safe from my foreign employment, from my three years' travel ; I did my best to make what advantage I could of the time, tho' not so much as I should ; for I find that peregrination (well us'd) is a very profitable school ; it is a running academy ; and nothing conduceth more to the building up and perfecting of a man. Your honourable uncle, Sir Robert Mansell, who is now in the Mediterranean, hath been very notable to me, and I shall ever acknowledge a good part of my education from him. He hath melted vast sums of money in the glass business, a business indeed more proper for a merchant than a courtier. I heard the King should say, 'That he wonder'd Robin Mansell, being a sea-

man, whereby he hath got so much honour, should fall from water to tamper with fire, which are two contrary elements.' My father fears that this glass employment will be too brittle a foundation for me to build a fortune upon; and Sir Robert being now at my coming back so far at sea, and his return uncertain, my father hath advis'd me to hearken after some other condition. I attempted to go secretary to Sir John Ayres to Constantinople, but I came too late. You have got yourself a great deal of good reputation by the voluntary resignation you made of the principality of Jesus College to Sir Eubule Thelwall, in hope that he will be a considerable benefactor to it. I pray God he perform what he promiseth, and that he be not over partial to North Wales men. Now that I give you the first summons, I pray you make me happy with your correspondence by letters; there is no excuse or impediment at all left now, for you are sure where to find me; whereas I was a *landloper*, as the Dutchman saith, a wanderer, and subject to incertain removes, and short sojourns in divers places before. So with

apprecation¹ of all happiness to you here and hereafter, I rest—At your friendly dispose,
J. H.

5 March, 1618.

VI.

*To Sir Eubule Thelwall, Knight, and Principal
of Jesus College in Oxford.*

SIR,—I send you most due and humble thanks, that notwithstanding I have play'd the truant, and been absent so long from Oxford, you have been pleas'd lately to make choice of me to be Fellow of your new foundation in Jesus College, whereof I was once a member. As the quality of my fortunes and course of life run now, I cannot make present use of this your great favour, or promotion rather ; yet I do highly value it, and humbly accept of it, and intend, by your permission, to reserve and lay it by, as a good warm garment against rough weather, if any fall on me. With this my expression of thankfulness, I do congratulate the great honour you have pur-

¹ Invocation.

chas'd, both by your own beneficence and by your painful endeavour besides, to perfect that national College which hereafter is like to be a monument of your fame, as well as a seminary of learning, and will perpetuate your memory to all posterity.

God Almighty prosper and perfect your undertakings, and provide for you in heaven those rewards which such public works of piety use to be crown'd withal; it is the appreciation of—Your truly devoted servitor,
J. H.

Lond., *idibus Mar.*, 1621.

VII.

To my Father.

SIR,—According to the advice you sent me in your last, while I sought after a new course of employment, a new employment hath lately sought after me: my Lord Savage hath two young gentlemen to his sons, and I am to go travel with them. Sir James Crofts (who so much respects you) was the main agent in this business, and I am to go shortly to Long

Melford in Suffolk, and thence to St. Osyth in Essex, to the Lord Darcy's. Queen Anne is lately dead of a dropsy, in Denmark-house ; which is held to be one of the fatal events that follow'd the last fearful comet that rose in the tail of the constellation of *Virgo* ; which some ignorant astronomers that write of it would fix in the heavens, and that as far above the orb of the moon, as the moon is from the earth : but this is nothing in comparison of those hideous fires that are kindled in Germany, blown first by the Bohemians, which is like to be a war without end ; for the whole House of Austria is interested in the quarrel, and it is not the custom of that House to set by any affront, or forget it quickly. Queen Anne left a world of brave jewels behind, but one Piero, an outlandish man, who had the keeping of them, embezzled many, and is run away ; she left all she had to Prince Charles, whom she ever lov'd best of all her children ; nor do I hear of any legacy she left at all to her daughter in Germany : for that match, some say, lessen'd something of her affection towards her ever since, so that she

would often call her Goody Palsgrave ; nor could she abide Secretary Winwood ever after, who was one of the chiefest instruments to bring that match about, as also for the rendition of the cautionary towns in the Low Countries, Flushing and Brill, with the Rammakins. I was lately with Sir John Walter and others of your counsel about law-business ; and some of them told me that Master J. Lloyd, your adversary, is one of the shrewdest solicitors in all the thirteen shires of Wales, being so habituated to law-suits and wrangling that he knows any of the least starting-holes in every court. I could wish you had made a fair end with him ; for besides the cumber and trouble, specially to those that dwell at such a huge distance from Westminster-hall as you do, law is a shrewd pick-purse, and the lawyer, as I heard one say wittily not long since, ‘is like a Christmas-box, which is sure to get whosoever loseth.’

So, with the continuance of my due and daily prayers for your health, with my love to my brothers and sisters,—I rest, your dutiful son,

J. H.

20 *March*, 1618.

VIII.

*To Dan. Caldwell, Esq. ; from the Lord
Savage's House in Long Melford.*

MY DEAR DAN.,—Tho' considering my former condition of life, I may now be call'd a countryman, yet you cannot call me a rustic (as you would imply in your letter) as long as I live in so civil and noble a family, as long as I lodge in so virtuous and regular a house as any, I believe, in the land, both for economical government, and the choice company ; for I never saw yet such a dainty race of children in all my life together ; I never saw yet such an orderly and punctual attendance of servants, nor a great house so neatly kept : here one shall see no dog, nor a cat, nor cage to cause any nastiness within the body of the house. The kitchen and gutters and other offices of noise and drudgery are at the fag-end ; there's a back-gate for the beggars and the meaner sort of swains to come in at ; the stables butt upon the park, which, for a cheerful rising

ground, for groves and browsings for the deer, for rivulets of water, may compare with any of its bigness in the whole land ; it is opposite to the front of the great house, whence from the gallery one may see much of the game when they are a-hunting. Now for the gardening and costly choice flowers, for ponds, for stately large walks green and gravelly, for orchards and choice fruits of all sorts, there are few the like in England : here you have your Bon Chrétien pear and Bergamot in perfection, your Muscadel grapes in such plenty that there are some bottles of wine sent every year to the King ; and one Mr. Daniel, a worthy gentleman hard by, who hath been long abroad, makes good store in his vintage. Truly this house of Long Melford, tho' it be not so great, yet it is so well compacted and contriv'd with such dainty conveniences every way, that if you saw the landskip of it, you would be mightily taken with it, and it would serve for a choice pattern to build and contrive a house by. If you come this summer to your Manor of Sheriff in Essex, you will not be far off hence ; if your occasions will permit, it will

be worth your coming hither, tho' it be only to see him, who would think it a short journey to go from St. David's Head to Dover Cliffs to see and serve you, were there occasion: if you would know who the same is, 'tis—Yours,

J. H.

20 May, 1619.

IX.

To Robert Brown, Esq.

SIR,—Thanks, for one courtesy is a good usher to bring on another; therefore it is my policy at this time to thank you most heartily for your late copious letter, to draw on a second. I say, I thank you a thousand times over for yours of the 3rd of this present, which abounded with such variety of news, and ample well-couch'd relations, that I made many friends by it; yet I am sorry for the quality of some of your news, that Sir Robert Mansell being now in the Mediterranean with a considerable naval strength of ours against the Moors, to do the Spaniard a pleasure, Marquis Spinola should, in a boggling way,

change his master for the time, and, taking commission from the Emperor, become his servant for invading the Palatinate with the forces of the King of Spain in the Netherlands. I am sorry also the Princes of the Union should be so stupid as to suffer him to take Oppenheim by a Parthian kind of back stratagem, in appearing before the town, and making semblance afterwards to go for Worms ; and then, perceiving the forces of the United Princes, to go for succouring of that, to turn back and take the town he intended first, whereby I fear he will be quickly master of the rest. Surely I believe there may be some treachery in't, and that the Marquis of Anspach, the general, was overcome by pistols made of Indian ingots, rather than of steel ; else an army of 40,000, which he had under his command, might have made its party good against Spinola's less than 20,000, tho' never such choice veterans : but what will not gold do ? It will make a pigmy too hard for a giant. There's no fence or fortress against an ass laden with gold. It was the saying, you know, of his father, whom partial and ignorant

antiquity cries up to have conquer'd the world, and that he sigh'd there were no more worlds to conquer, tho' he had never one of the three old parts of the then known world entirely to himself. I desire to know what is become of that handful of men his Majesty sent to Germany under Sir Horace Vere, which he was bound to do, as he is one of the Protestant Princes of the Union; and what's become of Sir Arthur Chichester, who is gone ambassador to those parts?

Dear Sir, I pray make me happy still with your letters; it is a mighty pleasure for us country-folks to hear how matters pass in London and abroad: you know I have not the opportunity to correspond with you in like kind, but may happily hereafter when the tables are turn'd, when I am in London, and you in the West. Whereas you are desirous to hear how it fares with me, I pray know that I live in one of the noblest houses, and best air, of England. There is a dainty park adjoining, where I often wander up and down, and I have my several walks. I make one to represent the Royal Exchange, the

other the middle aisle of St. Paul's,¹ another Westminster-hall; and when I pass thro' the herd of deer, methinks I am in Cheapside. So with a full return of the same measure of love as you pleas'd to send me, I rest—
Yours, J. H.

24 May, 1622.

X.

To R. Altham, Esq. ; from St. Osyth.

SIR,—Life itself is not so dear to me as your friendship, nor virtue in her best colours as precious as your love, which was lately so lively portray'd unto me in yours of the fifth of this present. Methinks your letter was like a piece of tissue richly embroider'd with rare flowers up and down, with curious representations, and landskips: albeit I have as much stuff as you of this kind (I mean matter of love), yet I want such a loom to work it upon, I cannot draw it to such a curious web; therefore you must be content with homely Polldavie ware from me, for you must

¹ Then a fashionable promenade.

not expect from us country-folks such urbanities and quaint invention, that you, who are daily conversant with the wits of the Court, and of the Inns-of-Court, abound withal.

Touching your intention to travel beyond the seas the next spring, and the intimation you make how happy you would be in my company ; I let you know that I am glad of the one, and much thank you for the other, and will think upon it, but I cannot resolve yet upon anything. I am now here at the Earl Rivers', a noble and great-knowing lord, who hath seen much of the world abroad ; my Lady Savage, his daughter, is also here, with divers of her children. I hope this Hilary Term to be merry in London, and amongst other to re-enjoy your conversation principally, for I esteem the society of no soul upon earth more than yours. Till then I bid you farewell, and as the season invites me, I wish you a merry Christmas, resting—Yours while
J. H.

20 December, 1622.

XI.

*To Captain Tho. Porter, upon his Return from
Algier Voyage.*

NOBLE CAPTAIN,—I congratulate your safe return from the *Straits*, but am sorry you were so *straiten'd* in your commission, that you could not attempt what such a brave naval power of twenty men-of-war, such a gallant general, and other choice knowing commanders might have perform'd, if they had had line enough. I know the lightness and nimbleness of Algier ships; when I liv'd lately in Alicante and other places upon the Mediterranean, we should every week hear of some of them chas'd, but very seldom taken; for a great ship following one of them may be said to be as a mastiff dog running after a hare. I wonder the Spaniard came short of the promis'd supply for furtherance of that notable adventurous design you had to fire the ships and galleys in Algiers Road: and according to the relation you pleas'd to send me, it was one of the bravest enterprises, and had prov'd

such a glorious exploit, that no story could have parallel'd ; but it seems their Hoggies, Magicians, and Marabuts¹ were tampering with the ill spirit of the air all the while, which brought down such a still cataract of rain-waters suddenly upon you, to hinder the working of your fireworks ; such a disaster, the story tells us, befell Charles the Emperor, but far worse than yours, for he lost ships and multitudes of men, who were made slaves, but you came off with loss of eight men only, and Algier is another gess thing now than she was then, being, I believe, a hundred degrees stronger by land and sea ; and for the latter strength, we may thank our countryman Ward, and Danskey² the Butterbag Hollander, who may be said to have been two of the fatallest and most infamous men that ever Christendom bred ; for the one taking all Englishmen, and the other all Dutchmen, and bringing the ships

¹ The fanatic religious leaders and teachers of the Barbary Moors.

² Simon Danser, the Flemish rover, who, with Captain Ward, the English pirate, taught the Barbary Corsairs how to build square-sail ships.

and ordnance to Algier, they may be said to have been the chief raisers of those picaroons to be pirates, who are now come to that height of strength, that they daily endamage and affront all Christendom. When I consider all the circumstances and success of this your voyage, when I consider the narrowness of your commission, which was as lame as the clerk that kept it; when I find that you secur'd the seas and traffic all the while, for I did not hear of one ship taken while you were abroad; when I hear how you brought back all the fleet without the least disgrace or damage by foe or foul weather to any ship; I conclude, and so do far better judgments than mine, that you did what possibly could be done; let those that repine at the one in the hundred (which was impos'd upon all the Levant merchants for the support of this fleet) mutter what they will, 'that you went first to Gravesend, then to the *Land's-end*, and after to *no end*.'

I have sent you for your welcome home (in part) two barrels of Colchester oysters, which were provided for my Lord Colchester him-

self; therefore I presume they are good, and all green-finn'd. I shall shortly follow, but not to stay long in England, for I think I must over again speedily to push on my fortunes. So my dear Tom, I am *de todas mis entranas*, from the centre of my heart, I am—
Yours, J. H.

St. Osyth, *December*, 1622.

XII.

To my Father, upon my Second Going to Travel.

SIR,—I am lately return'd to London, having been all this while in a very noble family in the country, where I found far greater respects than I deserv'd; I was to go with two of my Lord Savage's sons to travel, but finding myself too young for such a charge, and our religion differing, I have now made choice to go over camerade to a very worthy gentleman, Baron Altham's son, whom I knew in Staines, when my brother was there. Truly, I hold him to be one of the hopefulest young men of this kingdom for parts and person; he is full of excellent solid knowledge,

as the mathematics, the law, and other material studies: besides, I should have been tied to have stay'd three years abroad in the other employment at least, but I hope to get back from this, by God's grace, before a year be at an end, at which time I hope the hand of Providence will settle me in some stable home-fortune.

The news is, that the Prince Palsgrave, with his lady and children, are come to the Hague, in Holland, having made a long progress, or rather a pilgrimage, about Germany from Prague. The old Duke of Bavaria, his uncle, is chosen Elector and Arch-sewer of the Roman Empire in his place, (but as they say, in an imperfect Diet,) and with this proviso, that the transferring of this election upon the Bavarian shall not prejudice the next heir. There is one Count Mansfelt that begins to get a great name in Germany, and he, with the Duke of Brunswick, who is a Temporal Bishop of Halverstadt, has a considerable army on foot for the Lady Elizabeth, who, in the Low Countries, and some parts of Germany, is call'd the Queen of Bohemia, and for her

winning, princely comportment, the Queen of Hearts. Sir Arthur Chichester is come back from the Palatinate, much complaining of the small army that was sent thither under Sir Horace Vere, which should have been greater, or none at all.

My Lord of Buckingham having been long since Master of the Horse at Court, is now made master also of all the wooden horses in the kingdom, which indeed are our best horses, for he is to be High-Admiral of England ; so he is become *Dominus Equorum et Aquarum*. The late Lord Treasurer Cranfield grows also very powerful, but the city hates him for having betray'd their greatest secrets, which he was capable to know more than another, having been formerly a merchant.

I think I shall have no opportunity to write to you again till I be t'other side of the sea ; therefore I humbly take my leave, and ask your blessing, that I may the better prosper in my proceedings. So I am—Your dutiful son,

J. H.

19 March, 1622.

XIII.

To Sir John Smith, Knight.

SIR,—The first ground I set foot upon after this my second transmarine voyage, was Trevere¹ (the Scots' staple) in Zealand, thence we sail'd to Holland, in which passage we might see divers steeples and turrets under water, of towns that, as we were told, were swallow'd up by a deluge within the memory of man: we went afterwards to the Hague, where there are hard by, tho' in several places, two wonderful things to be seen, the one of art, the other of nature; that of art is a waggon, or ship, or a monster mixed of both, like the Hippocentaur, who was half man and half horse; this engine, that hath wheels and sails, will hold above twenty people, and goes with the wind, being drawn or mov'd by nothing else, and will run, the wind being good, and the sails hois'd up, above fifteen miles an hour upon the even hard sands: they say this

¹ Veere, an ancient and now decayed town, on the island of Walcheren.

invention was found out to entertain Spinola when he came hither to treat of the last truce. That wonder of nature is a church-monument, where an earl and a lady are engraven with three hundred and sixty-five children about them, which were all deliver'd at one birth; they were half-male, half-female; the two basins in which they were christened hang still in the church, and the bishop's name who did it; and the story of this miracle, with the year and the day of the month mention'd, which is not yet two hundred years ago; and the story is this: That the countess walking about her door after dinner, there came a beggar-woman with two children upon her back to beg alms; the countess asking whether those children were her own, she answer'd, she had them both at one birth, and by one father, who was her husband. The countess would not only not give her any alms, but revil'd her bitterly, saying, 'It was impossible for one man to get two children at once.' The beggar-woman being thus provok'd with ill words, and without alms, fell to imprecations, that

it should please God to show His judgment upon her, and that she might bear at one birth as many children as there be days in the year, which she did before the same year's end, having never borne child before.

We are now in North Holland, where I never saw so many, among so few, sick of leprosy; and the reason is, because they commonly eat abundance of fresh fish. A gentleman told me, that the women of this country, when they are deliver'd, there comes out of the womb a living creature besides the child, call'd *Zucchie*, likest a bat of any other creature, which the midwives throw into the fire, holding sheets before the chimney lest it should fly away. Master Altham desires his service be presented to you and your lady, to Sir John Franklin, and all at the Hill; the like do I humbly crave at your hands. The Italian and French manuscripts you pleas'd to favour me withal, I left at Mr. Seil's, the stationer, whence, if you have not them already, you may please to send for them. So in all affection I kiss your hands, and am—
Your humble servitor, J. H.

10 April, 1623.

XIV.

*To the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount
Colchester, after Earl Rivers.*

RIGHT HONOURABLE, —The commands your Lordship pleas'd to impose upon me when I left England, and those high favours wherein I stand bound to your Lordship, call upon me at this time to send your Lordship some small fruits of my foreign travel. Marquis Spinola is return'd from the Palatinate, where he was so fortunate, that (like Cæsar) he came, saw, and overcame, notwithstanding that huge army of the Princes of the Union, consisting of 40,000 men ; whereas his was under 20,000, but made up of old tough blades, and veteran commanders. He hath now chang'd his coat, and taken up his old commission again from Don Philippo, whereas during that expedition he call'd himself Cæsar's servant. I hear the Emperor hath transmitted the upper Palatinate to the Duke of Bavaria, as caution for those moneys he hath expended in those wars. And the King of Spain is the Emperor's commissary

for the lower Palatinate: they both pretend that they were bound to obey the imperial summons to assist Cæsar in these wars; the one as he was Duke of Burgundy, the other of Bavaria, both which countries are feudatory to the Empire; else they had incur'd the imperial ban. It is fear'd this German war will be, as the Frenchman saith, *de longue haleine*, long breath'd; for there are great powers on both sides, and they say the King of Denmark is arming.

Having made a leisurely sojourn in this town, I had spare hours to couch in writing a survey of these countries, which I have now travers'd the second time; but in regard it would be a great bulk for a letter, I send it your Lordship apart, and when I return to England I shall be bold to attend your Lordship for correction of my faults. In the interim I rest, my Lord,—Your thrice humble servitor,

J. H.

Antwerp, 1 May, 1622.

XV.

A Survey of the Seventeen Provinces.

MY LORD,—To attempt a precise description of each of the seventeen Provinces, and of its progression, privileges, and primitive government, were a task of no less confusion than labour. Let it suffice to know that since Flanders and Holland were erected to Earldoms, and so left to be an appendix to the Crown of France, some of them have had absolute and supreme governors, some subaltern and subject to a superior power. Amongst the rest, the Earls of Flanders and Holland were most considerable; but of them two, he of Holland being homageable to none, and having Friesland and Zealand added, was the more potent. In process of time all the seventeen met in one; some by conquest, others by donation and legacy, but most by alliance. In the House of Burgundy this Union receiv'd most growth, but in the House of Austria it came to its full perfection; for in Charles V. they all met as so many lines drawn from

the circumference to the centre ; who lording as supreme head not only over the fifteen temporal, but the two spiritual, Liège and Utrecht, had a design to reduce them to a kingdom, which his son, Philip II., attempted after him : but they could not bring their intents home to their aim ; the cause is imputed to that multiplicity and difference of privileges which they are so eager to maintain, and whereof some cannot stand with a monarchy without incongruity. Philip II. at his inauguration was sworn to observe them, and at his departure he oblig'd himself by an oath to send still one of his own blood to govern them. Moreover, at the request of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, he promised that all foreign soldiers should retire, and that he himself would come to visit them once every seventh year ; but being once gone, and leaving in lieu of a sword a distaff, an unwieldy woman to govern, he came not only short of his promise, but procur'd a dispensation from the Pope to be absolv'd of his oath, and all this by the counsel of Cardinal Granvelle, who, as the States' chronicler writes,

was the first firebrand that kindled that lamentable and longsome war wherein the Netherlands have traded above fifty years in blood : for intending to increase the number of bishops, to establish the decrees of the Council of Trent, and to clip the power of the Council of State compos'd of the natives of the land, by making it appealable to the Council of Spain, and by adding to the former oath of allegiance, (all which conduc'd to settle the Inquisition, and to curb the conscience,) the broils began ; to appease which ambassadors were despatch'd to Spain, whereof the two first came to violent deaths, the one being beheaded, the other poison'd. But the two last, Egmont and Horn, were nourish'd still with hopes, until Philip II. had prepar'd an army under the conduct of the Duke of Alva, to compose the difference by arms. For as soon as he came to the government, he establish'd the *Bloed-raad*, as the complainants term'd it, a Council of Blood, made up mostly of Spaniards. Egmont and Horn were apprehended, and afterwards beheaded ; citadels were erected, and the oath of allegiance, with

the political government of the country, in divers things alter'd. This pour'd oil on the fire formerly kindled, and put all in combustion. The Prince of Orange retires, thereupon his eldest son was surpris'd, and sent as hostage to Spain, and above 5,000 families quit the country; many towns revolted, but were afterwards reduc'd to obedience: which made the Duke of Alva say, 'That the Netherlands appertain'd to the King of Spain, not only by descent, but conquest'; and for cumble¹ of his victories, when he attempted to impose the tenth penny for maintenance of the garrisons in the citadels he had erected at Grave, Utrecht, and Antwerp, (where he caus'd his statue made of cannon-brass to be erected, trampling the Belgians under his feet,) all the towns withstood this imposition. So that at last matters succeeding ill with him, and having had his cousin Panceco hang'd² at Flushing Gates, after he had trac'd out the platform of a citadel in

¹ Consummation.

² Pacheco, Alva's engineer, who built the citadel of Antwerp, was hung by the patriot Netherlanders, and not by Alva, as Howell might be misunderstood to imply.

that town also, he receiv'd Letters of Revocation from Spain. Him succeeded Don Luys de Requesens, who came short of his predecessor in exploits ; and, dying suddenly in the field, the government was invested for a time in the Council of State. The Spanish soldiers being without a head, gather'd together to the number of 1600, and committed such outrages up and down, that they were proclaim'd enemies to the State. Hereupon the pacification of Ghent was transacted, whereof, among other articles, one was, 'That all foreign soldiers should quit the country.' This was ratified by the King, and observ'd by Don John of Austria, who succeeded in the government ; yet Don John retain'd the *Landsknechts* at his devotion still for some secret design, and, as some conjectur'd, for the invasion of England ; he kept the Spaniards also still hovering about the frontiers ready upon all occasions. Certain letters were intercepted that made a discovery of some projects, which made the war to bleed afresh ; Don John was proclaim'd enemy to the State, so the Archduke Matthias was sent for, who

being a man of small performance, and improper for the times, was dismiss'd, but upon honourable terms. Don John a little after dies; then comes in the Duke of Parma, a man as of a different nation, being an Italian, so of a differing temper, and more moderate spirit, and of greater performance than all the rest; for whereas all the Provinces except Luxembourg and Hainault had revolted, he reduc'd Ghent, Tournay, Bruges, Malines, Brussels, Antwerp, (which three last he beleagur'd at one time,) and divers other great towns, to the Spanish obedience again: he had 60,000 men in pay, and the choicest which Spain and Italy could afford. The French and English ambassadors interceding for a peace, had a short answer of Philip II., who said, That he needed not the help of any to reconcile himself to his own subjects, and reduce them to conformity: but the difference that was, he would refer to his cousin the Emperor: hereupon the business was agitated at Cologne, where the Spaniard stood as high a-tiptoe as ever, and notwithstanding the vast expense of treasure and blood he had been at

for so many years, and that matters began to exasperate more and more, which were like to prolong the wars *in infinitum*, he would abate nothing in point of ecclesiastic government. Hereupon the States perceiv'd that King Philip could not be wrought either by the solicitations of other princes, or their own supplications so often reiterated, that they might enjoy the freedom of religion, with other enfranchisements; and finding him inexorable, being incited also by the ban which was publish'd against the Prince of Orange, that whosoever kill'd him should have 5,000 crowns, they at last absolutely renounc'd and abjur'd the King of Spain for their sovereign: they broke his seals, chang'd the oath of allegiance, and fled to France for shelter; they inaugurated the Duke of Anjou (recommended to them by the Queen of England, to whom he was a suitor) for their prince, who attempted to render himself absolute, and so thought to surprise Antwerp, where he receiv'd an ill-favour'd repulse; yet nevertheless the United Provinces, for so they term'd themselves ever after, fearing to dis-

taste their next great neighbour France, made a second proffer of their protection and sovereignty to that King, who having too many irons in the fire at his own home, the League growing stronger and stronger, he answer'd them, That his shirt was nearer to him than his doublet. Then had they recourse to Queen Elizabeth, who partly for her own security, partly for interest in religion, reach'd them a supporting hand, and so sent them men, money, and a governor, the Earl of Leicester, who, not symbolizing with their humour, was quickly revok'd, yet without any outward dislike on the Queen's side, for she left her forces still with them, but upon their expense: she lent them afterwards some considerable sums of moneys, and she receiv'd Flushing and the Brill for caution. Ever since the English have been the best sinews of their war, and achievers of the greatest exploits amongst them. Having thus made sure work with the English, they made young Count Maurice their governor, who for twenty-five years together held tack with the Spaniard, and during those traverses of war was very

fortunate: an overture of peace was then propounded, which the States would not hearken to singly with the King of Spain, unless the Provinces that yet remain'd under him would engage themselves for the performance of what was articled; besides, they would not treat either of peace or truce, unless they were declar'd Free States, all which was granted: so by the intervention of the English and French ambassadors, a truce was concluded for twelve years.

These wars did so drain and discommodate the King of Spain, by reason of his distance, (every soldier that he sent either from Spain or Italy costing him near upon 100 crowns before he could be render'd in Flanders,) that, notwithstanding his mines of Mexico and Peru, it plung'd him so deeply in debt, that having taken up moneys in all the chief banks of Christendom, he was forc'd to publish a diploma, wherein he dispens'd with himself (as the Holland story hath it) from payment, alleging that he had employ'd those moneys for the public peace of Christendom: this broke many great bankers, and they say his

credit was not current in Seville or Lisbon, his own towns; and, which was worse, while he stood wrestling thus with his own subjects, the Turk took his opportunity to get from him Tunis and the Goletta, the trophies of Charles V., his father. So eager he was in this quarrel, that he employ'd the utmost of his strength and industry to reduce this people to his will, in regard he had an intent to make these Provinces his main rendezvous and magazine of men of war; which his neighbours perceiving, and that he had a kind of aim to be Western Monarch, being led not so much for love as reasons of State, they stuck close to the revolted Provinces: and this was the *bone* that Secretary Walsingham told Queen Elizabeth he would cast the King of Spain, that should last him twenty years, and perhaps make his teeth shake in his head.

But to return to my first discourse, whence this digression hath snatch'd me. The Netherlands, who had been formerly knit and concentred under one sovereign prince, were thus dismember'd; and, as they subsist now, they are a State and a Province. The

Province, having ten of the seventeen at least, is far greater, more populous, better soil'd and more stor'd with gentry. The State is the richer and stronger, the one proceeding from their vast navigation and commerce, the other from the quality of their country, being defensible by rivers and sluices, by means whereof they can suddenly overwhelm all the whole country: witness that stupendous siege of Leyden and Haarlem; for most of their towns, the marks being taken away, are inaccessible, by reason of shelves of sands. Touching the transaction of these Provinces, which the King of Spain made as a dowry to the Archduke Albertus, upon marriage with the Infanta, (who thereupon left his red hat, and Toledo mitre, the chiefest spiritual dignity in Christendom, for revenue, after the Papacy,) it was fring'd with such cautelous restraints, that he was sure to keep the better end of the staff still to himself; for he was to have the tutele and ward of his children, that they were to marry with one of the Austrian Family recommended by Spain, and in default of issue, and in case Albertus should survive

the Infanta, he should be but governor only : add hereunto, that King Philip reserv'd still to himself all the citadels and the castles, with the Order of the Golden Fleece, whereof he is Master, as he is Duke of Burgundy.

The Archduke for the time hath a very princely command, all coins bear his stamp, all placarts or edicts are published in his name, he hath the election of all civil officers and magistrates ; he nominates also bishops and abbots, for the Pope hath only the confirmation of them here ; nor can he adjourn any out of the country to answer anything, neither are his bulls of any strength without the Prince's *placet*, which makes him have always some commissioners to execute his authority. The people here grow hotter and hotter in the Roman cause, by reason of the mixture with Spaniards and Italians ; and also by the example of the Archduke and the Infanta, who are devout in an intense degree. There are two supreme Councils, the Privy Council and that of the State ; these treat of confederations and intelligence with foreign princes, of peace and war, of entertaining or of dismissing

colonels and captains, of fortifications ; and they have the surintendency of the highest affairs that concern the Prince and the policy of the Provinces: the Primate hath the granting of all patents and requests, the publishing of all edicts and proclamations, the prizing of coin, the looking to the confines and extent of the Provinces, and the enacting of all new ordinances. Of these two Councils there is never a Spaniard, but in the actual Council of War their voices are predominant. There is also a Court of Finances, or Exchequer, whence all they that have the fingering of the King's money must draw a discharge. Touching matters of Justice, their law is mix'd betwixt civil and common, with some clauses of canonical. The High Court of Parliament is at Malines, whither all civil causes may be brought by appeal from other towns, xcept some that have municipal privileges, and are sovereign in their own jurisdictions, as Mons in Hainault, and a few more.

The prime Province for dignity is B abant, which, amongst many other privileges it enjoys, hath this for one, not to appear upon

any summons out of its own precinct ; which is one of the reasons why the Prince makes his residence there : but the prime, for extent and fame, is Flanders, the chiefest earldom in Christendom, which is three days' journey in length ; Ghent, its metropolis, is reputed the greatest town of Europe, whence arose the proverb, *Les flamene tient un Gan, qui tiendra Paris dedans*. But the beautifullest, richest, strongest, and most privileg'd city is Antwerp in Brabant, being the Marquisate of the Holy Empire, and drawing near to the nature of a Hans-town, for she pays the Prince no other tax but the impost. Before the dissociation of the seventeen Provinces, this town was one of the greatest marts of Europe, and greatest bank this side the Alps ; most Princes having their factors here, to take up or let out moneys : and here our Gresham got all his wealth, and built our Royal Exchange by model of that here. The merchandise brought hither from Germany, France, and Italy by land, and from England, Spain, and the Hans-towns by sea, was estimated at above twenty millions of crowns every year : but as no

violent thing is long lasting, and as 'tis fatal to all kingdoms, states, towns, and languages to have their period, so this renown'd mart hath suffer'd a shrewd eclipse, yet no utter downfall, the exchange of the King of Spain's money, and some small land traffic, keeping still life in her, tho' nothing so full of vigour as it was. Therefore there is no town under the Archduke where the States have more conceal'd friends than in Antwerp, who would willingly make them her masters, in hope to recover her former commerce; which after the last twelve years' truce began to revive a little, the States permitting to pass by Lillo's Sconce (which commands the river Scheld, and lieth in the teeth of the town) some small cross-sail'd ships to pass hither. There is no place hath been more passive than this, and more often pillag'd; amongst other times she was once plunder'd most miserably by the Spaniards, under the conduct of a priest, immediately on Don John of Austria's death; she had then her *Stad-huis* burnt, which had cost a few years before above 20,000 crowns the building; and the spoils that were carried

away thence amounted to forty tons of gold : thus she was reduc'd, not only to poverty, but a kind of captivity, being commanded by a citadel, which she preferr'd before a garrison. This made the merchants retire and seek a more free rendezvous, some in Zealand, some in Holland, specially in Amsterdam, which rose upon the fall of this town, as Lisbon did from Venice upon the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, tho' Venice be not near so much crest-fallen.

I will now steer my discourse to the United Provinces, as they term themselves, which are six in number, viz., Holland, Zealand, Friesland, Overyssel, Groningen, and Utrecht, three parts of Guelderland, and some frontier towns and places of contribution in Brabant and Flanders. In all these there is no innovation at all introduc'd, notwithstanding this great change in point of government, except that the College of States represents the duke or earl in times past ; which College consists of the chiefest gentry of the country, surintendents of towns, and the principal magistrates. Every Province and

great town chooses yearly certain deputies, to whom they give plenary power to deliberate with the other States of all affairs touching the public welfare of the whole Province ; and what they vote stands for law. These, being assembled, consult of all matters of state, justice, and war ; the advocate who is prime in the assembly propounds the business, and after collects the suffrages, first of the provinces, then of the towns ; which being put in form, he delivers in pregnant and moving speeches ; and in case there be a dissonance and reluctancy of opinions, he labours to accord and reconcile them ; concluding always with the major voices.

Touching the administration of justice, the President, who is monthly chang'd, with the great Council, has the supreme judicature ; from whose decrees there's no appeal, but a revision ; and then some of the choicest lawyers among them are appointed.

For their oppidan government, they have variety of offices, a Scout, Burgomasters, a Balue, and Vroetschoppens.¹ The Scout is

¹ *Schout*, sheriff ; *Baljuw*, bailiff ; *Vroedschappen*, town-councillor.

chosen by the States, who with the Balues have the judging of all criminal matters in last resort without appeal; they have also the determining of civil causes, but those are appealable to the Hague. Touching their chiefest Governor (or General rather, now), having made proof of the Spaniard, German, French, and English, and agreeing with none of them, they alighted at last upon a man of their own mould, Prince Maurice, now their General; in whom concurr'd divers parts suitable to such a charge, having been train'd up in the wars by his father, who, with three of his uncles and divers of his kindred, sacrific'd their lives in the States' quarrel: he hath thriven well since he came to the Government: he clear'd Friesland, Overysse, and Groningen, in less than eighteen months. He hath now continued their Governor and General by sea and land above thirty-three years; he hath the election of magistrates, the pardoning of malefactors, and divers other prerogatives; yet they are short of the reach of sovereignty, and of the authority of the antient Counts of Holland: tho' I cannot say

'tis a mercenary employment, yet he hath a limited allowance, nor hath he any implicit command when he goes to the field, for either the Council of War marcheth with him, or else he receives daily directions from them : moreover, the States themselves reserve the power of nominating all commanders in the army, which, being of sundry nations, deprive him of those advantages he might have to make himself absolute. Martial discipline is nowhere so regular as amongst the States, nowhere are there lesser insolencies committed upon the burgher, nor robberies upon the country boors ; nor are the officers permitted to insult over the common soldier. When the army marcheth, not one dares take so much as an apple off a tree, or a root out of the earth in their passage ; and the reason is, they are punctually paid their pay, else I believe they would be insolent enough ; and were not the pay so certain, I think few or none would serve them. They speak of 60,000 they have in perpetual pay by land and sea, at home, and in the Indies. The King of France was us'd to maintain a regiment, but since Henry the

Great's death, the payment hath been neglected. The means they have to maintain these forces, to pay their Governor, to discharge all other expense, as the preservation of their dykes, which comes to a vast expense yearly, is the antient revenue of the Counts of Holland, the impropriate church-livings, imposts upon all merchandise, which is greater upon exported than imported goods; excise upon all commodities, as well for necessity as pleasure; taxes upon every acre of ground, which is such, that the whole country returns into their hands every three years. Add hereunto the art they use in their bank by the rise and fall of money, the fishing upon our coasts; whither they send every autumn above 700 hulks or busses, which, in the voyages they make, return above a million in herrings; moreover, their fishing for green fish and salmon amounts to so much more; and for their cheese and butter, 'tis thought they vent as much every year as Lisbon doth spices. This keeps the common treasury always full, that upon any extraordinary service or design there is seldom any new

tax upon the people. Traffic is their general profession, being all either merchants or mariners ; and having no land to manure, they furrow the sea for their living : and this universality of trade, and their banks of adventures, distributes the wealth so equally, that few amongst them are exceeding rich, or exceeding poor ; gentry among them is very thin, and, as in all democracies, little respected ; and, coming to dwell in towns, they soon mingle with the merchant, and so degenerate. Their soil, being all 'twixt marsh and meadow, is so fat in pasturage, that one cow will give eight quarts of milk a day ; so that, as a boor told me, in four little *dorps* near Haarlem, 'tis thought there is as much milk milk'd in the year as there is Rhenish wine brought to Dort, which is the sole staple of it. Their towns are beautiful, and neatly built, and with such uniformity, that who sees one, sees all. In some places, as in Amsterdam, the foundation costs more than the superstructure, for the ground being soft, they are constrain'd to ram in huge stakes of timber (with wool about it to preserve it from putrefaction)

till they come to a firm basis ; so that as one said, ' Whosoever could see Amsterdam under ground, should see a huge winter forest.'

Among all the confederate Provinces, Holland is most predominant, which, being but six hours' journey in breadth, contains nine-and-forty wall'd towns, and all these within a day's journey one of another. Amsterdam for the present is one of the greatest mercantile towns in Europe. To her is appropriated the East and West India trade, whither she sends yearly forty great ships, with another fleet to the Baltic Sea ; but they send not near so many to the Mediterranean as England. Other towns are passably rich, and stor'd with shipping, but not one very poor ; which proceeds from the wholesome policy they use, to assign every town some firm staple commodity ; as to (their Maiden-Town) Dort the German wines and corn, to Middleburgh the French and Spanish wines, to Trevere (the Prince of Orange his town) the Scots' trade. Leyden in recompense of her long siege was erected to an University, which with Franeker

in Friesland is all they have ; Haarlem for knitting and weaving hath some privilege ; Rotterdam hath the English cloth : and this renders their towns so equally rich and populous. They allow free harbour to all nations, with liberty of religion, (the Roman only excepted,) as far as the Jew, who hath two synagogues allow'd him, but only in Amsterdam ; which piece of policy they borrow of the Venetian, with whom they have very intimate intelligence : only the Jews in Venice, in Rome, and other places, go with some outward mark of distinction, but here they wear none : and these two republics, that in the East and this in the West, are the two Remoras that stick to the great vessel of Spain, that it cannot sail to the Western Monarchy.

I have been long in the survey of these Provinces, yet not long enough, for much more might be said, which is fitter for a story than a survey : I will conclude with a *mot* or two of the people, whereof some have been renown'd in times past for feats of war. Among the States, the Hollander or Batavian hath

been most known, for some of the Roman Emperors have had a selected guard of them about their persons for their fidelity and valour, as now the King of France hath of the Swiss. The Frisians also have been famous for those large privileges wherewith Charlemagne endow'd them ; the Flemings also have been illustrious for the martial exploits they achiev'd in the East, where two of the Earls of Flanders were crown'd Emperors. They have all a genius inclin'd to commerce, very inventive and witty in manufactures, witness the art of printing, painting, and colouring in glass ; those curious quadrants, chimes and dials, those kind of waggons which are us'd up and down Christendom were first us'd by them ; and for the mariner's compass, tho' the matter be disputable 'twixt the Neapolitan, the Portugal, and them, yet there is a strong argument on their side, in regard they were the first that subdivided the four cardinal winds to two-and-thirty, others naming them in their language.

There is no part of Europe so haunted with all sorts of foreigners as the Netherlands,

which makes the inhabitants, as well women as men, so well vers'd in all sorts of languages, so that in Exchange time one may hear seven or eight sorts of tongues spoken upon their bourses : nor are the men only expert herein, but the women and maids also in their common hostries ; and in Holland the wives are so well vers'd in bargaining, cyphering, and writing, that in the absence of their husbands in long sea voyages, they beat the trade at home, and their words will pass in equal credit. These women are wonderfully sober, tho' their husbands make commonly their bargains in drink, and then are they more cautelous. This confluence of strangers makes them very populous, which was the cause that Charles the Emperor said, 'That all the Netherlands seem'd to him but as one continued town.' He and his grandfather Maximilian, notwithstanding the choice of kingdoms they had, kept their Courts most frequently in them, which shew'd how highly they esteem'd them ; and I believe if Philip II. had visited them sometimes, matters had not gone so ill.

There is no part of the earth, considering the small circuit of country, which is estimated to be but as big as the fifth part of Italy, where one may find more differing customs, tempers, and humours of people, than in the Netherlands. The Walloon is quick and sprightly, accostable and full of compliment, and gaudy in apparel, like his next neighbour the French : the Fleming and Brabanter, somewhat more slow and more sparing of speech : the Hollander slower than he, more surly and disrespectful of gentry and strangers, homely in his clothing, of very few words, and heavy in action ; which may be well imputed to the quality of the soil, which works so strongly upon the humours, that when people of a more vivacious and nimble temper come to mingle with them, their children are observ'd to partake rather of the soil than the sire : and so it is in all animals besides.

Thus have I huddled up some observations of the Low Countries, beseeching your Lordship would be pleas'd to pardon the imperfections, and correct the errors of them ; for I

know none so capable to do it as your
Lordship, to whom I am—A most humble and
ready servitor, J. H.

Antwerp, 1 *May*, 1622.

XVI.

*To my Brother, Mr. Hugh Penry, upon his
marriage.*

SIR,—You have a good while the interest of a friend in me, but you have me now in a straiter tie, for I am your brother by your late marriage, which hath turn'd friendship into an alliance ; you have in your arms one of my dearest sisters, who I hope, nay I know, will make a good wife. I heartily congratulate this marriage, and pray that a blessing may descend upon it from that place where all marriages are made, which is from Heaven, the fountain of all felicity : to this prayer I think it no profaneness to add the saying of the lyric poet Horace, in whom I know you delight much ; and I send it you as a kind of Epithalamium, and wish it may be verified in you both :

*Fœlices ter et amplius
 Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec malis
 Divuisus querimoniis
 Suprema citius solvet amor die.*

Thus English'd :

That couple's more than trebly blest,
 Which nuptial bonds do so combine,
 That no distaste can them untwine,
 Till the last day send both to rest.

So, my dear brother, I much rejoice for this alliance, and wish you may increase and multiply to your heart's content.—Your affectionate brother,

J. H.

20 May, 1622.

XVII.

To my Brother, Dr. Howell ; from Brussels.

SIR,—I had yours in Latin at Rotterdam, whence I corresponded with you in the same language ; I heard, tho' not from you, since I came to Brussels, that our sister Anne is lately marry'd to Mr. Hugh Penry. I am heartily glad of it, and wish the rest of our sisters were so well bestow'd ; for I know Mr. Penry to be a gentleman of a great deal of

solid worth and integrity, and one that will prove a great husband, and a good economist.

Here is news that Mansfeld hath receiv'd a foil lately in Germany, and that the Duke of Brunswick, *alias* Bishop of Halverstadt, hath lost one of his arms ; this makes them vapour here extremely, and the last week I heard of a play the Jesuits of Antwerp made, in derogation, or rather derision of the proceedings of the Prince Palsgrave, where among divers other passages, they feign'd a post to come puffing upon the stage ; and being ask'd what news, he answer'd, how the Palsgrave was like to have shortly a huge formidable army, for the King of Denmark was to send him 100,000, the Hollanders 100,000, and the King of Great Britain 100,000 ; but being ask'd thousands of what ? he reply'd, 'The first would send 100,000 red herrings, the second 100,000 cheeses, and the last 100,000 ambassadors ;' alluding to Sir Richard Weston, and Sir Edward Conway, my Lord Carlisle, Sir Arthur Chichester, and lastly the Lord Digby, who have been all employ'd in quality of ambassadors in less than two

years, since the beginning of these German broils. Touching the last, having been with the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, and carry'd himself with such high wisdom in his negotiations with the one, and stoutness with the other, and having preserv'd Count Mansfeld's troops from disbanding, by pawning his own argentry and jewels, he pass'd this way, where they say the Archduke did esteem him more than any ambassador that ever was in this Court; and the report yet is very fresh of his high abilities.

We are to remove hence in coach towards Paris the next week, where we intend to winter, or hard by. When you have opportunity to write to Wales, I pray present my duty to my father, and my love to the rest; and pray remember me also to all at the Hill and the Dale, especially to that most virtuous gentleman, Sir John Franklin. So, my dear brother, I pray God continue and improve his blessings to us both, and bring us again together with comfort.—Your brother,
J. H.

10 June, 1622.

XVIII.

To Dr. Tho. Prichard, at Worcester House.

SIR,—Friendship is the great chain of human society, and intercourse of letters is one of the chiefest links of that chain: you know this as well as I, therefore I pray let our friendship, let our love, that nationality of British love, that virtuous tie of academic love, be still strengthen'd (as heretofore) and receive daily more and more vigour. I am now in Paris, and there is weekly opportunity to receive and send: and if you please to send, you shall be sure to receive, for I make it a kind of religion to be punctual in this kind of payment. I am heartily glad to hear that you are become a domestic member to that most noble family of the Worcesters, and I hold it to be a very good foundation for future preferment; I wish you may be as happy in them, as I know they will be happy in you. France is now barren of news, only there was a shrewd brush lately 'twixt the young King and his mother, who having the

Duke of Épernon and others for her champions, met him in an open field about Pont de Cé, but she went away with the worst ; such was the rare dutifulness of the King, that he forgave her upon his knees, and pardon'd all her complices : and now there is an universal peace in this country, which 'tis thought will not last long, for there is a war intended against them of the Reform'd Religion ; for this King, tho' he be slow in speech, yet he is active in spirit, and loves motion. I am here camerade to a gallant young gentleman, my old acquaintance, who is full of excellent parts, which he hath acquir'd by a choice breeding the Baron his father gave him both in the University, and in the Inns-of-Court ; so that, for the time, I envy no man's happiness. So with my hearty commends, and much endear'd love unto you, I rest—
Yours whiles

JAM. HOWELL.

Paris, 3 August, 1622

XIX.

To the Honourable Sir Tho. Savage, (after Lord Savage,) at his House upon Tower Hill.

HONOURABLE SIR,—Those many undeserv'd favours for which I stand oblig'd to yourself and my noble Lady, since the time I had the happiness to come first under your roof, and the command you pleas'd to lay upon me at my departure thence, call upon me at this time to give you account how matters pass in France.

That which for the present affords most plenty of news, is Rochelle, which the King threateneth to block up this spring with an army by sea, under the command of the Duke of Nevers, and by a land army under his own conduct: both sides prepare, he to assault, the Rochellers to defend. The King declares that he proceeds not against them for their religion, which he is still contented to tolerate, but for holding an assembly against his declarations. They answer, that their assembly is grounded upon his Majesty's

royal warrant, given at the dissolution of the last assembly at Laudun, where he solemnly gave his word, to permit them to reassemble when they would six months after, if the breaches of their liberty and grievances which they then propounded were not redress'd; and they say, this being unperform'd, it stands not with the sacred person of a king to violate his promise, being the first that ever he made them. The King is so incens'd against them, that their deputies can have neither access to his person nor audience of his Council, as they style themselves the Deputies of the Assembly at Rochelle; but if they say they come from the whole body of them of the pretended Reform'd Religion, he will hear them. The breach between them is grown so wide, that the King resolves on a siege. This resolution of the King is much fomented by the Roman clergy; specially by the Celestines, who have 200,000 crowns of gold in the arsenal of Paris, which they would sacrifice all to this service; besides, the Pope sent him a bull to levy what sums he would of the Gallican Church, for the

advancement of his design. This resolution also is much push'd on by the gentry, who besides the particular employments and pay they shall receive hereby, are glad to have their young King train'd up in arms, to make him a martial man: but for the merchant and poor peasant, they tremble at the name of this war, fearing their teeth should be set on edge with those sour grapes their fathers tasted in the time of the League; for if the King begins with Rochelle, 'tis fear'd all the four corners of the kingdom will be set on fire.

Of all the towns of surety which they of the religion hold, Rochelle is the chiefest, a place strong by nature, but stronger by art. It is a maritime town, and landward they can by sluices drown a league's distance; 'tis fortify'd with mighty thick walls, bastions, and counterscarps, and those according to the modern rules of enginry. This, amongst other cautionary towns, was granted by Henry IV. to them of the religion for a certain term of years; which being expir'd, the King saith they are devolv'd again to the Crown, and so

demands them. They of the Religion pretend to have divers grievances; first, they have not been paid these two years the 160,000 crowns which the last King gave them annually, to maintain their ministers and garrisons. They complain of the King's carriage lately at Bearn (Henry the Great's country), which was merely Protestant, where he hath introduc'd two years since the public exercise of the Mass, which had not been sung there fifty years before; he alter'd also there the government of the country, and in lieu of a Viceroy, left a Governor only. and whereas Navarrin was formerly a Court of Parliament for the whole kingdom of Navarre (that's under France) he hath put it down, and publish'd an edict, that the Navarrais should come to Toulouse, the chief town of Languedoc; and lastly, he left behind him a garrison in the said town of Navarrin. These and other grievances they of the Religion proposed to the King lately, desiring his Majesty would let them enjoy still those privileges his predecessor Henry III. and his father Henry IV. afforded them

by Act of Pacification. But he made them a short answer, That what the one did in this point, he did it out of fear; what the other did, he did it out of love; but he would have them know, that he neither lov'd them nor fear'd them: so the business is like to bleed sore on both sides; nor is there yet any appearance of prevention.

There was a scuffle lately here 'twixt the Duke of Nevers and the Cardinal of Guise, who have had a long suit in law about an abbey; and meeting the last week about the Palace, from words they fell to blows, the Cardinal struck the Duke first, and so were parted; but in the afternoon there appear'd on both sides no less than 3,000 horse in a field hard by, which shews the populousness and sudden strength of this huge city: but the matter was taken up by the King himself, and the Cardinal clapt up in the Bastille, where the King saith he shall abide to *ripen*; for he is but young, and they speak of a bull that is to come from Rome to decardinalize him. I fear to have trespass'd too much upon your patience,

therefore I will conclude for the present, but will never cease to profess myself—Your thrice humble and ready servitor, J. H.

Paris, 18 *August*, 1622.

XX.

To D. Caldwell, Esq. ; from Poissy.

MY DEAR D.,—To be free from English, and to have the more conveniency to fall close to our business, Mr. Altham and I are lately retir'd from Paris to this town of Poissy, a pretty genteel place at the foot of the great forest of St. Germain, upon the river *Sequana*, and within a mile of one of the King's chiefest standing houses, and about fifteen miles from Paris. Here is one of the prime nunneries of all France. Lewis IX., who in the catalogue of the French Kings is call'd St. Lewis, which title was confirm'd by the Pope, was baptiz'd in this little town ; and after his return from Egypt and other places against the Saracens, being ask'd by what title he would be distinguish'd from the rest of his predecessors after his death, he answer'd,

‘That he desir’d to be call’d Lewis of Poissy.’ Reply being made, that there were divers other places and cities of renown, where he had perform’d brave exploits, and obtain’d famous victories, therefore it was more fitting that some of those places should denominate him: ‘No,’ said he, ‘I desire to be call’d Lewis of Poissy, because there I got the most glorious victory that ever I had, for *there I overcame the devil* ;’ meaning that he was christen’d there.

I sent you from Antwerp a silver Dutch table-book, I desire to hear of the receipt of it in your next. I must desire you (as I did once at Rouen) to send me a dozen pair of the whitest kidskin gloves for women, and half a dozen pair of knives, by the merchant’s post ; and if you want anything that France can afford, I hope you know what power you have to dispose of—Yours,

J. H.

7 September, 1622.

XXI.

To my Father ; from Paris.

SIR,—I was afraid I should never have had ability to write to you again, I had lately such a dangerous fit of sickness ; but I have now pass'd the brunt of it, God hath been pleas'd to relieve me, and reserve me for more days, which I hope to have grace to number better. Mr. Altham and I having retir'd to a small town from Paris for more privacy, and sole conversation with the nation, I ty'd myself to a task for the reading of so many books in such a compass of time ; and thereupon, to make good my word to myself, I us'd to watch many nights together, tho' it was in the depth of winter ; but returning to this town, I took cold in the head, and so that mass of rheum which had gather'd by my former watching, turn'd to an imposthume in my head, whereof I was sick above forty days : at the end they cauteriz'd and made an issue in my cheek, to make vent for the imposthume, and that sav'd my life.

At first they let me blood, and I parted with above fifty ounces in less than a fortnight; for phlebotomy is so much practis'd here, that if one's little finger ache, they presently open a vein; and to balance the blood on both sides, they usually let blood in both arms. And the commonness of the thing seems to take away all fear, insomuch that the very women when they find themselves indispos'd, will open a vein themselves; for they hold, that the blood which hath a circulation, and fetcheth a round every twenty-four hours about the body, is quickly repair'd again. I was eighteen days and nights that I had no sleep, but short imperfect slumbers, and those, too, procur'd by potions: the tumour at last came so about the throat, that I had scarce vent left for respiration; and my body was brought so low with all sorts of physic, that I appear'd like a mere skeleton. When I was indifferently well recover'd, some of the doctors and chirurgeons that tended me, gave me a visit; and amongst other things, they fell into discourse of wines, which was the best, and so by degrees they fell upon

other beverages ; and one doctor in the company who had been in England, told me that we have a drink in England call'd ale, which he thought was the wholesomest liquor that could go into one's guts ; for whereas the body of man is supported by two columns, *viz.*, the natural heat and radical moisture, he said, there is no drink conduceth more to the preservation of the one, and the increase of the other, than ale : for while the Englishmen drank only ale, they were strong, brawny, able men, and could draw an arrow an ell long ; but when they fell to wine and beer, they are found to be much impair'd in their strength and age : so the ale bore away the bell among the doctors. The next week we advance our course further into France towards the river of Loire to Orleans, whence I shall continue to convey my duty to you. In the meantime I humbly crave your blessing, and your acknowledgment to God Almighty for my recovery ; be pleas'd further to impart my love amongst my brothers and sisters, with all my kinsmen and friends in the country : so I rest—Your dutiful son,

J. H.

Paris, *Decembris* 10, 1622.

XXII.

To Sir Tho. Savage, Knight and Baronet.

HONOURABLE SIR,—That of the fifth of this present which you pleas'd to send me was receiv'd, and I begin to think myself something more than I was, that you value so much the slender endeavours of my pen to do you service : I shall continue to improve your good opinion of me as opportunity shall serve.

Touching the great threats against Rochelle, whereof I gave you an ample relation in my last, matters are become now more calm, and rather inclining to an accommodation, for 'tis thought a sum of money will make up the breach ; and to this end some think all these bravados were made. The Duke of Luynes is at last made Lord High Constable of France, the prime officer of the Crown ; he hath a peculiar Court to himself, a guard of a hundred men in rich liveries, and 100,000 livres every year pension. The old Duke of Lesdiguieres, one of the antientest soldiers

of France, and a Protestant, is made his Lieutenant.

But in regard all Christendom rings of this favourite, being the greatest that ever was in France, since the *Maires* of the Palace, who came to be Kings afterwards, I will send you herein his legend. He was born in Provence, and is a gentleman by descent, tho' of a petty extraction; in the last King's time he was preferr'd to be one of his pages, who finding him industrious, and a good waiter, allow'd him 300 crowns pension *per an.*, which he husbanded so well, that he maintain'd himself and his two brothers in passable good fashion therewith. The King observing that, doubled his pension, and taking notice that he was a serviceable instrument and apt to please, he thought him fit to be about his son, in whose service he hath continued above fifteen years; and he hath flown so high into his favour by a singular dexterity and art he hath in falconry, and by shooting at birds flying, wherein the King took great pleasure, that he hath soar'd to this pitch of honour. He is a man of a passable good understanding and

forecast, of a mild comportment, humble and debonair to all, and of a winning conversation ; he hath about him choice and solid heads, who prescribe unto him rules of policy, by whose compass he steers his course, which it's likely will make him subsist long. He is now come to that transcendent altitude, that he seems to have mounted above the reach of envy, and made all hopes of supplanting him frustrate, both by the politic guidance of his own actions, and the powerful alliances he hath got for himself and his two brothers. He is marry'd to the Duke of Montbazon's daughter, one of the prime peers of France ; his second brother Cadenet (who is reputed the wisest of the three) marry'd the heiress of Picardy, with whom he had 9,000*l* lands a year ; his third brother Brand to the great heiress of Luxembourg, of which House there have been five Emperors : so that these three brothers and their allies would be able to counterbalance any one faction in France, the eldest and youngest being made Dukes and Peers of France, the other Marshal. There are lately two Ambassadors Extraordinary come hither

from Venice about Valteline,¹ but their negotiation is at a stand, until the return of an Ambassador Extraordinary which is gone to Spain. Ambassadors also are come from the Hague, for payment of the French regiment there, which hath been neglected these ten years, and to know whether his Majesty will be pleas'd to continue their pay any longer ; but their answer is yet suspended. They have brought news that the seven ships which were built for his Majesty in the Texel are ready ; to this he answer'd, that he desires to have ten more built ; for he intends to finish that design which his father had a-foot a little before his death, to establish a Royal Company of Merchants.

This is all the news that France affords for the present, the relation whereof, if it proves as acceptable as my endeavours to serve you herein are pleasing unto me, I shall esteem myself happy : so wishing you and my noble

¹ A valley extending from Lake Como to the Tyrol. In 1620, at the instigation of Spain, this district revolted from the Grey Leagues of the Protestant Swiss, the result being a dispute between the Emperor, Savoy, and Spain, which led to the interference of France.

lady continuance of health, and increase of honour, I rest—Your humble servitor,

J. H.

Paris, 15 *Decembris*, 1622.

XXIII.

To Sir John North, Knight.

SIR,—I confess you have made a perfect conquest of me by your late favours, and I yield myself your captive: a day may come that will enable me to pay my ransom; in the interim, let a most thankful acknowledgment be my bail and mainprise.

I am now remov'd from off the Seine to the Loire, to the fair town of Orleans: there was here lately a mixed procession 'twixt military and ecclesiastic for the Maid of Orleans, which is perform'd every year very solemnly; her statue stands upon the bridge, and her clothes are preserv'd to this day, which a young man wore in the procession, which makes me think that her story, tho' it sound like a romance, is very true. And I read it thus in two or three chronicles. When the English had

made such firm invasions in France, that their armies had march'd into the heart of the country, besieg'd Orleans, and driven Charles VII. to Bourges in Berry, which made him to be call'd, for the time, King of Berry ; there came to his army a shepherdess, one Anne de Arque,¹ who with a confident look and language told the King that she was design'd by heaven to beat the English, and drive them out of France. Therefore she desir'd a command in the army, which by her extraordinary confidence and importunity she obtain'd ; and putting on man's apparel, she prov'd so prosperous, that the siege was rais'd from before Orleans, and the English were pursu'd to Paris, and forc'd to quit that, and driven to Normandy : she us'd to go on with marvellous courage and resolution, and her word was, *hara ha*. But in Normandy she was taken prisoner, and the English had a fair revenge upon her, for by an arrest of the Parliament of Rouen she was burnt for a witch. There is a great business now a-foot in Paris call'd the *Polette*, which, if it take

¹ Jeanne d'Arc.

effect, will tend to correct, at leastwise to cover, a great error in the French Government. The custom is, that all the chief places of justice thro'out all the eight courts of Parliament in France, besides a great number of other offices, are set to sale by the King, and they return to him, unless the buyer liveth forty days after his resignation to another. It is now propounded that these casual offices shall be absolutely hereditary, provided that every officer pay a yearly revenue to the King according to the valuation of and perquisites of the office : this business is now in hot agitation, but the issue is yet doubtful.

The last you sent I receiv'd by Vacandary in Paris : so, highly honouring your excellent parts and merit, I rest, now that I understand French indifferent well, no more your (*she*) servant,¹ but—Your most faithful servitor,

J. H.

Orleans, 3 *Martii*, 1622.

¹ Howell here is evidently referring to a former letter, written in French, in which he had used the word *servante*, forgetting its gender.

XXIV.

To Sir James Crofts, Knight.

SIR,—Were I to freight a letter with compliments, this country would furnish me with variety, but of news a small store at this present; and for compliment, it is dangerous to use any to you, who have such a piercing judgment to discern semblances from realities.

The Queen-Mother is come at last to Paris, where she hath not been since Ancre's death; the King is also return'd post from Bordeaux, having travers'd most part of his kingdom. He settled peace everywhere he pass'd, and quash'd divers insurrections; and by his obedience to his mother, and his lenity towards all her partisans at Pont de Cé, where above four hundred were slain, and notwithstanding that he was victorious, yet he gave a general pardon; he hath gained much upon the affections of his people. His Council of State went ambulatory always with him, and as they say here, never did men manage things with more wisdom. There is a war, question-

less, a-fermenting against the Protestants ; the Duke of Épernon in a kind of a *rodo-montado* way, desir'd leave of the King to block up Rochelle, and in six weeks he would undertake to deliver her to his hands ; but I believe he reckons without his host. I hope to return now very shortly to England, where, among the rest of my noble friends, I shall much rejoice to see and serve you, whom I honour with no vulgar affection ; so I am—
Your true servitor, J. H.

Orleans, 5 *March*, 1622.

XXV.

To my Cousin, Mr. Will. Martin, at Brussels.

DEAR COUSIN,—I find you are very punctual in your performances, and a precise observer of the promise you made here to correspond with Mr. Altham and me by letters. I thank you for the variety of German news you imparted to me, which was so neatly couch'd and curiously knit together, that your letter might serve for a pattern to the best intelligencer. I am sorry the affairs of the Prince

Palsgrave go so untowardly ; the wheel of war may turn, and that spoke which is now up may down again. For French occurrences, there is a war certainly intended against them of the Religion here, and there are visible preparations a-foot already. Amongst other that shrink in the shoulders at it, the King's servants are not very well pleas'd with it, in regard, besides Scots and Swissers, there are divers of the King's servants that are Protestants. If a man go to *ragion' di stato*, 'to reason of state,' the French King hath something to justify this design ; for the Protestants being so numerous, and having near upon fifty presidary wall'd towns in their hands for caution, they have power to disturb France when they please, and being abetted by a foreign Prince, to give the King law ; and you know, as well as I, how they have been made use of to kindle a fire in France. Therefore, rather than they should be utterly suppress, I believe the Spaniard himself would reach them his ragged-staff to defend them.

I send you here inclos'd another from Master Altham, who respects you dearly, and

we remember'd you lately at *La pomme du pin* in the best liquor of the French grape. I shall be shortly for London, where I shall not rejoice a little to meet you. The English air may confirm what foreign begun, I mean our friendship and affections; and in me (that I may return you in English the Latin verses you sent me)

As soon a little, little ant
Shall bib the ocean dry,
A snail shall creep about the world,
Ere these affections die.

So, my dear cousin, may Virtue be your guide, and Fortune your companion.—Yours while
JAM. HOWELL.

Paris, 18 *March*, 1622.

SECTION III.

I.

To my Father.

SIR,—I am safely return'd now the second time from beyond the seas, but I have yet no employment: God and good friends, I hope, will shortly provide one for me.

The Spanish Ambassador, Count Gondomar, doth strongly negotiate a match 'twixt our Prince and the Infanta of Spain; but at his first audience there happened an ill-favour'd accident, (pray God it prove no ill augury,) for my Lord of Arundel being sent to accompany him to Whitehall, upon a Sunday in the afternoon, as they were going over the terrace, it broke under them, but only one was hurt in the arm. Gondomar said, that he had not car'd to have dy'd in so good company. He saith, there is no other

way to regain the Palatinate but by this match, and to settle an eternal peace in Christendom.

The Marquis of Buckingham continueth still in fulness of grace and favour; the Countess his mother sways also much at Court: she brought Sir Henry Montague from delivering law on the King's Bench, to look to his bags in the Exchequer, for she made him Lord High Treasurer of England; but he parted with his white staff before the year's end, tho' his purse had bled deeply for it, (above 20,000*l*.) which made a Lord of this land to ask him at his return from Court, 'Whether he did not find that wood was extreme dear at Newmarket,' for there he receiv'd the white staff. There is now a notable stirring man in the place, my Lord Cranfield, who from walking about the Exchange, is come to sit Chief-Justice in the Chequer-Chamber, and to have one of the highest places at the Council-Table. He is marry'd to one of the tribe of fortune, a kinswoman of the Marquis of Buckingham. Thus there is rising and falling at Court; and

as in our natural pace one foot cannot be up till the other be down, so it is in the affairs of the world commonly, one man riseth at the fall of another.

I have no more to write at this time, but that with tender of my duty to you, I desire a continuance of your blessing and prayers.—
Your dutiful son, J. H.

London, 22 *March*, 1622.

II.

To the Honourable Mr. John Savage, (now Earl of Rivers,) at Florence.

SIR,—My love is not so short but it can reach as far as Florence to find you out, and further too, if occasion requir'd : nor are these affections I have to serve you so dull, but they can clamber o'er the Alps and Appenines to wait upon you, as they have adventur'd to do now in this paper. I am sorry I was not in London to kiss your hands before you set to sea, and much more sorry that I had not the happiness to meet you in Holland or Brabant, for we went the very same road, and

lay in Dort and Antwerp, in the same lodgings you had lain in a fortnight before. I presume you have by this time tasted of the sweetness of travel, and that you have wean'd your affections from England for a good while ; you must now think upon home, as (one said) good men think upon heaven, aiming still to go thither, but not till they finish their course ; and yours, I understand, will be three years. In the meantime you must not suffer any melting tenderness of thoughts, or longing desires, to distract or interrupt you in that fair road you are in to virtue, and to beautify within that comely edifice which nature hath built without you. I know your reputation is precious to you, as it should be to every noble mind ; you have expos'd it now to the hazard, therefore you must be careful it receive no taint at your return, by not answering that expectation which your Prince and noble parents have of you. You are now under the chiefest clime of wisdom, fair Italy, the darling of nature, the nurse of policy, the theatre of virtue. But tho' Italy give milk to Virtue with one dug, she often suffers Vice to

suck at the other ; therefore you must take heed you mistake not the dug : for there is an illfavour'd saying, that *Inglese Italianato è Diavolo incarnato* ; 'An Englishman Italianate is a devil incarnate.' I fear no such thing of you, I have had such pregnant proofs of your ingenuity, and noble inclinations to virtue and honour. I know you have a mind to both, but I must tell you that you will hardly get the good-will of the latter, unless the first speak a good word for you. When you go to Rome, you may haply see the ruins of two temples, one dedicated to Virtue, the other to Honour ; and there was no way to enter into the last but thro' the first. Noble Sir, I wish your good very seriously, and if you please to call to memory, and examine the circumstance of things, and my carriage towards you since I had the happiness to be known first to your honourable family, I know you will conclude that I love and honour you in no vulgar way.

My Lord, your grandfather, was complaining lately that he had not heard from you a good while. By the next shipping to Leghorn,

among other things, he intends to send you a whole brawn in collars. I pray be pleased to remember my affectionate service to Mr. Thomas Savage, and my kind respects to Mr. Bold. For English news, I know this packet comes freighted to you, therefore I forbear at this time to send any. Farewell, noble heir of Honour, and command always—Your true servitor,

J. H.

London, 24 *March*, 1622.

III.

To Sir James Crofts, Knight, at St. Osyth in Essex.

SIR,—I had yours upon Tuesday last, and whereas you are desirous to know the proceedings of the Parliament, I am sorry I must write to you that matters begin to grow boisterous ; the King retir'd not long since to Newmarket, not very well pleas'd, and this week there went thither twelve from the House of Commons, to whom Sir Richard Weston was the mouth. The King not liking the message they brought, call'd them his

Ambassadors, and in the large answer which he hath sent to the Speaker, he saith, that he must apply to them a speech of Queen Elizabeth's to an Ambassador of Poland, *Legatum expectavimus, Heraldum accepimus*; 'We expected an Ambassador, we have receiv'd a Herald.' He takes it not well that they should meddle with the match 'twixt his son and the Infanta, alleging an example of one of the Kings of France, who would not marry his son without the advice of his Parliament; but afterwards the King grew so despicable abroad, that no foreign State would treat with him about anything without his Parliament. Sundry other high passages there were, as a caveat he gave them, not to touch the honour of the King of Spain, with whom he was so far engag'd in a matrimonial treaty, that he could not go back. He gave them also a check for taking cognisance of those things which had their motion in the ordinary Courts of Justice, and that Sir Edward Coke, (tho' these words were not inserted in the answer,) whom he thought to be 'the fittest instrument for a tyrant

that ever was in England,' should be so bold as to call the Prerogative of the Crown 'a great monster.' The Parliament after this was not long liv'd, but broke up in discontent; and upon the point of dissolution, they made a protest against divers particulars in the aforesaid answer of his Majesty's. My Lord Digby is preparing for Spain in quality of Ambassador Extraordinary, to perfect the match'twixt our Prince and the Lady Infanta; in which business Gondomar hath waded already very deep, and been very active, and ingratiated himself with divers persons of quality, ladies especially: yet he could do no good upon the Lady Hatton, whom he desir'd lately, that in regard he was her next neighbour (at Ely House) he might have the benefit of her back-gate to go abroad into the fields; but she put him off with a compliment. He was also dispatching a post lately for Spain; and the post having receiv'd his packet, and kiss'd his hands, he call'd him back, and told him he had forgot one thing, which was, 'That when he came to Spain, he should commend him to the Sun, for he

had not seen him a great while, and in Spain he should be sure to find him.' So with my most humble service to my Lord of Colchester, I rest—Your humble servitor, J. H.

London, 24 *March*, 1622.

IV.

To my Brother, Mr. Hugh Penry.

SIR,—The Welsh nag you sent me was deliver'd me in a very good plight, and I give you a thousand thanks for him; I had occasion lately to try his mettle and his lungs, and every one tells me he is right, and of no mongrel race, but a true mountaineer; for besides his toughness and strength of lungs up a hill, he is quickly curry'd and content with short commons. I believe he hath not been long a highway traveller; for whereas other horses, when they pass by an inn or alehouse, use to make towards them to give them a friendly visit, this nag roundly goes on, and scorns to cast as much as a glance upon any of them; which I know not whether I shall impute it to his ignorance, or

height of spirit ; but conversing with the soft horses in England, I believe he will quickly be brought to be more courteous.

The greatest news we have now is the return of the Lord Bishop of Llandaff, Davenant, Ward, and Belcanquel, from the Synod of Dort, where the Bishop had precedence given him according to his episcopal dignity. Arminius and Vorstius were sore baited there concerning predestination, election, and reprobation ; as also touching Christ's death, and man's redemption by it ; then concerning man's corruption and conversion ; lastly, concerning the perseverance of the saints. I shall have shortly the transaction of the Synod. The Jesuits have put out a jeering libel against it, and these two verses I remember in't :

*Dordrecti Synodus ? nodus ; chorus integer ? æger ;
Conventus ? ventus ; Sessio stramen ? Amen.*

But I will confront this distich with another I read in France of the Jesuits in the town of Dole, towards Lorraine ; they had a great house given them call'd *L'arc (arcum)*, and upon the river of the Loire, Henry IV. gave them *La*

flêche, *Sagittam* in Latin, where they have two stately convents, that is, Bow and Arrow ; whereupon one made these verses :

Arcum Dola dedit, dedit illis alma sagittam
Francia ; quis chordam, quam meruere, dabit ?

Fair France the arrow, Dole gave them the bow ;
 Who shall the string, which they deserve, bestow ?

No more now, but that with my dear love
 to my sister, I rest—Your most affectionate
 brother, J. H.

London, 16 *April*, 1622.

V.

To the Lord Viscount Colchester.

MY GOOD LORD,—I received your Lordship's of the last week, and, according to your command, I send here inclos'd the Venetian Gazette. Of foreign *avisos*,¹ they write that Mansfeld hath been beaten out of Germany, and is come to Sedan, and 'tis thought the Duke of Bouillon will set him up again with a new army. Marquis Spinola hath newly

¹ *Advices* (Sp.), *aviso*.

sat down before Berghen op Zoom : your Lordship knows well what consequence that town is of, therefore it is likely this will be a hot summer in the Netherlands. The French King is in open war against them of the Religion, he hath already cleared the Loire, by taking Jerseau and Saumur, where Monsieur du Plessis sent him the keys, which are promis'd to be deliver'd him again, but I think *ad Græcas Calendas*. He hath been also before St. John d'Angeli, where the young Cardinal of Guise died, being struck down by the puff of a cannon-bullet, which put him in a burning fever, and made an end of him. The last town taken was Clairac, which was put to 50,000 crowns ransom ; many were put to the sword, and divers gentlemen drown'd as they thought to scape ; this is the fifteenth cautionary town the King hath taken : and now they say he marcheth toward Montauban : and so to Montpellier and Nismes, and then have at Rochelle. My Lord Hays is by this time, 'tis thought, with the army ; for Sir Edward Herbert is return'd, having had some clashings and counterbuffs with the favourite

Luynes, wherein he comported himself gallantly. There is a fresh report blown over, that Luynes is lately dead in the army of the plague, some say of the purples, the next cousin-german to it; which the Protestants give out to be the just judgment of Heaven fallen upon him because he incited his master to these wars against them. If he be not dead, let him die when he will, he will leave a fame behind him, to have been the greatest favourite for the time that ever was in France, having from a simple falconer come to be High Constable, and made himself and his younger brother Grand Dukes and Peers; and his second brother, Cadenet, Marshal; and all three marry'd to princely families.

No more now, but that I most humbly kiss your Lordship's hands, and shall be always most ready and cheerful to receive your commandments, because I am—Your Lordship's obliged servitor,

J. H.

London, 12 *August*, 1622.

VI.

To my Father ; from London.

SIR,—I was at a dead stand in the course of my fortunes, when it pleas'd God to provide me lately an employment to Spain, whence I hope there may arise both repute and profit. Some of the Cape merchants of the Turkey Company, among whom the chiefest were Sir Robert Napper, and Captain Leat, propos'd to me, that they had a great business in the Court of Spain in agitation many years, nor was it now their business, but the King's, in whose name it is follow'd : they could have gentlemen of good quality that would undertake it, yet if I would take it upon me, they would employ no other, and assur'd me that the employment should tend both to my benefit and credit. Now the business is this. There was a great Turkey ship called the *Vineyard*, sailing thro' the Straits towards Constantinople, but by distress of weather she was forc'd to put into a little port call'd Milo, in Sardinia ; the searchers came aboard

of her, and finding her richly laden, for her cargazon of broad-cloth was worth the first penny near 30,000*l*, they cavill'd at some small proportion of lead and tin which they had only for the use of the ship; which the searchers alleg'd to be *ropa de contrabando*, prohibited goods; for by Article of Peace, nothing is to be carry'd to Turkey that may arm or victual. The Viceroy of Sardinia hereupon seiz'd upon the whole ship, and all her goods, landed the master and men in Spain, who coming to Sir Charles Cornwallis, then Ambassador at that Court, Sir Charles could do them little good at present, therefore they came to England, and complain'd to the King and Council: his Majesty was so sensible hereof, that he sent a particular commission in his own Royal Name, to demand a restitution of the ship and goods, and justice upon the Viceroy of Sardinia, who had so apparently broke the peace, and wrong'd his subjects. Sir Charles (with Sir Paul Pindar a while) labour'd in the business, and commenc'd a suit in law, but he was call'd home before he could do anything to purpose. After him Sir John

Digby (now Lord Digby) went Ambassador to Spain, and amongst other things he had that particular commission from his Majesty invested in him, to prosecute the suit in his own Royal Name: thereupon he sent a well qualify'd gentleman, Mr. Walsingham Gresley, to Sardinia, who unfortunately meeting with some men of war in the passage, was carry'd prisoner to Algier. My Lord Digby being remanded home, left the business in Mr. Cottington's hands, then agent, but resum'd it at his return; yet it prov'd such a tedious intricate suit, that he return'd again without finishing the work, in regard of the remoteness of the island of Sardinia, whence the witnesses and other dispatches were to be fetched. The Lord Digby is going now Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Spain, upon the business of the Match, the restitution of the Palatinate, and other high affairs of State; therefore he is desirous to transmit the King's commission touching this particular business to any gentleman that is capable to follow it, and promiseth to assist him with the utmost of his power; and

i' faith he hath good reason to do so, in regard he hath now a good round share himself in it. About this business I am now preparing to go to Spain, in company of the Ambassador; and I shall kiss the King's hands as his agent touching this particular commission. I humbly intreat that your blessing and prayers may accompany me in this my new employment, which I have undertaken upon very good terms, touching expenses and reward. So with my dear love to my brothers and sisters, with other kindred and friends in the country, I rest—Your dutiful son, J. H.

8 September, 1622.

VII.

*To Sir Thomas Savage, Knight and Baronet,
at his house in Long-Melford.*

HONOURABLE SIR,—I receiv'd your commands in a letter which you sent me by Sir John North, and I shall not fail to serve you in those particulars. It hath pleas'd God to dispose of me once more for Spain, upon a business which I hope will make me good re-

turns: there have two Ambassadors and a Royal Agent followed it hitherto, and I am the fourth that is employ'd in it. I defer to trouble you with the particulars of it, in regard I hope to have the happiness to kiss your hand at Tower-hill before my departure, which will not be till my Lord Digby sets forward. He goes in a gallant, splendid equipage, and one of the King's ships is to take him in at Plymouth, and transport him to the Corunna, or St. Anderas.

Since that sad disaster which befell Archbishop Abbot, to kill the man by the glancing of an arrow as he was shooting at a deer, (which kind of death befell one of our kings once in New Forest,) there hath been a commission awarded to debate whether upon this fact, whereby he hath shed human blood, he be not to be depriv'd of his Archbishopric, and pronounced irregular: some were against him; but Bishop Andrews and Sir Henry Martin stood stiffly for him, that in regard it was no spontaneous act, but a mere contingency, and that there is no degree of men but is subject to misfortunes and casualties,

they declared positively that he was not to fall from his dignity or function, but should still remain a regular, and *in statu quo prius*. During this debate, he petitioned the King that he might be permitted to retire to his Alms-house at Guildford where he was born, to pass the remainder of his life ; but he is now come to be again *rectus in curia*, absolutely quitted, and restored to all things. But for the wife of him which was kill'd, it was no misfortune to her, for he hath endowed herself and her children with such an estate, that they say her husband could never have got. So I humbly kiss your hands and rest—Your most obliged servitor, J. H.

London, 9 November, 1622.

VII.

To Captain Nich. Leat, at his house in London.

SIR,—I am safely come to the Court of Spain ; and altho' by reason of that misfortune which befell Mr. Altham and me, of wounding the serjeants in Lombard-street, we

stayed three weeks behind my Lord Ambassador, yet we came hither time enough to attend him to Court at his first audience.

The English nation is better look'd on now in Spain than ordinary, because of the hopes there are of a Match, which the merchant and commonalty much desire, tho' the nobility and gentry be not so forward for it: so that in this point the pulse of Spain beats quite contrary to that of England, where the people are averse to this Match, and the nobility with most part of the gentry inclinable.

I have perus'd all the papers I could get into my hands, touching the business of the ship *Vineyard*, and I find that they are higher than I in bulk, tho' closely press'd together: I have cast up what is awarded by all the sentences of view, and review, by the Council of State and War; and I find the whole sum, as well principal as interest upon interest, all sorts of damages, and processal charges, come to above two hundred and fifty thousand crowns. The Conde del Real, *quondam* Viceroy of Sardinia, who is adjudg'd to pay most part of this money, is here; and he is

Majordomo, Lord Steward to the Infante Cardinal: if he hath wherewith, I doubt not but to recover the money, for I hope to have come in a favourable conjecture of time, and my Lord Ambassador, who is so highly esteem'd here, doth assure me of his best furtherance. So praying I may prove as successful, as I shall be faithful in this great business, I rest
—Yours to dispose of, J. H.

Madrid, 28 *December*, 1622.

IX.

To Mr. Arthur Hopton; from Madrid.

SIR,—Since I was made happy with your acquaintance, I have receiv'd sundry strong evidences of your love and good wishes unto me, which have ty'd me to you in no common obligation of thanks: I am in despair ever to cancel this bond, nor would I do it, but rather endear the engagement more and more.

The Treaty of the Match 'twixt our Prince and the Lady Infanta is now strongly a-foot: she is a very comely lady, rather of a Flemish complexion than Spanish, fair hair'd, and

carrieth a most pure mixture of red and white in her face. She is full and big lipp'd ; which is held a beauty rather than a blemish, or any excess, in the Austrian Family, it being a thing incident to most of that race ; she goes now upon sixteen, and is of a tallness agreeable to those years. The King is also of such a complexion, and is under twenty ; he hath two brothers, Don Carlos, and Don Hernando, who, tho' a youth of twelve, yet is he Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo ; which, in regard it hath the Chancellorship of Castille annexed to it, is the greatest spiritual dignity in Christendom after the Papacy, for it is valu'd at 300,000 crowns *per annum*. Don Carlos is of a differing complexion from all the rest, for he is black hair'd, and of a Spanish hue ; he hath neither office, command, dignity, nor title, but is an individual companion to the King, and what clothes soever are provided for the King, he hath the very same, and as often, from top to toe. He is the better belov'd of the people for his complexion ; for one shall hear the Spaniard sigh and lament, saying, 'O when shall we have a King again of our own colour !'

I pray recommend me kindly to all at your house, and send me word when the young gentlemen return from Italy. So with my most affectionate respects to yourself, I rest—
Your true friend to serve you, J. H.

5 *January*, 1622.

X.

To Capt. Nich. Leat ; from Madrid.

SIR,—Yours of the tenth of this present I receiv'd by Mr. Simon Digby, with the inclos'd to your son in Alicante, which is safely sent. Since my last to you, I had access to Olivares, the favourite that rules all ; I had also audience of the King, to whom I deliver'd two memorials since, in his Majesty's name of Great Britain, that a particular Junta of some of the Council of State and War might be appointed to determine the business. The last memorial had so good success, that the referees are nominated, whereof the chiefest is the Duke of Infantado. Here it is not the style to claw and compliment with the King, or idolize him by 'Sacred Sovereign,' and 'Most

Excellent Majesty' ; but the Spaniard, when he petitions to his King, gives him no other character but 'Sir,' and so relating his business, at the end doth ask and demand justice of him. When I have done with the Viceroy here, I shall hasten my dispatches for Sardinia. Since my last I went to liquidate the account more particularly, and I find that of the 250,000 crowns, there are above forty thousand due to you ; which might serve for a good alderman's estate.

Your son in Alicante writes to me of another mischance that is befallen the ship *Amity* about Majorca, whereof you were one of the proprietaries ; I am very sorry to hear of it, and touching any dispatches that are to be had hence, I shall endeavour to procure you them according to instructions.

Your cousin Richard Altham remembers his kind respects to you, and sends you many thanks for the pains you took in freeing us from that trouble which the scuffle with the serjeants brought upon us. So I rest—Yours ready to serve you,

J. H.

5 January, 1622.

XI.

*To the Lord Viscount Colchester ;
from Madrid.*

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—The grand business of the Match goes so fairly on, that a special Junta is appointed to treat of it, the names whereof I send you here inclos'd : they have proceeded so far, that most of the articles are agreed upon. Mr. George Gage is lately come hither from Rome, a polite and prudent gentleman, who hath negotiated some things in that Court for the advance of the business, with the Cardinals Bandino, Ludovisio, and La Susanna, who are the main men there to whom the drawing of the dispensation is refer'd.

The late taking of Ormuz by the Persian from the crown of Portugal keeps a great noise here, and the rather because the exploit was done by the assistance of the English ships that were then thereabouts. My Lord Digby went to Court, and gave a round satisfaction in this point ; for it was no voluntary, but a

constrain'd act in the English, who being in the Persian's port, were suddenly embargu'd for the service : and the Persian herein did no more than what is usual among Christian princes themselves, and which is oftener put in practice by the King of Spain and his Viceroy's than by any other, *viz.*, to make an embargo of any stranger's ship that rides within his ports upon all occasions. It was fear'd this surprisal of Ormuz, which was the greatest mart in all the Orient for all sorts of jewels, would have bred ill blood, and prejudic'd the proceedings of the Match ; but the Spaniard is a rational man, and will be satisfy'd with reason. Count Olivares is the main man who sways all, and 'tis thought he is not so much affected to an alliance with England as his predecessor the Duke of Lerma was, who set it first a-foot 'twixt Prince Henry and this Queen of France. The Duke of Lerma was the greatest *privado*, the greatest favourite that ever was in Spain, since Don Alvaro de Luna ; he brought himself, the Duke of Uzeda his son, and the Duke of Cea his grandchild, to be all

Grandeos of Spain ; which is the greatest title that a Spanish subject is capable of. They have a privilege to stand cover'd before the King, and at their election there's no other ceremony but only these three words by the King, *Cobrese por Grande*, 'Cover yourself for a Grandee' ; and that's all. The Cardinal Duke of Lerma lives at Valladolid, he officiates and sings mass, and passes his old age in devotion and exercises of piety. It is a common, and indeed a commendable custom amongst the Spaniard, when he hath pass'd his Grand Climacteric, and is grown decrepit, to make a voluntary resignation of Offices, be they never so great and profitable, (tho' I cannot say Lerma did so,) and sequestering and weaning themselves, as it were, from all mundane negotiations and encumbrances, to retire to some place of devotion, and spend the residue of their days in meditation, and in preparing themselves for another world. Charles the Emperor shew'd them the way, who left the empire to his brother, and all the rest of his dominions to his son Philip II., and so taking with him his two sisters, he retir'd

into a monastery, they into a nunnery. This does not suit well with the genius of an Englishman, who loves not to pull off his clothes till he goes to bed. I will conclude with some verses I saw under a huge *rodomontado* picture of the Duke of Lerma, wherein he is painted like a giant, bearing up the monarchy of Spain, that of France, and the Popedom upon his shoulders, with this stanza :

*Sobre les ombres d'este Atlante
Yazen en aquestos dias
Estas tres Monarquias.*

Upon the shoulders of this Atlas lies
The Popedom, and two mighty Monarchies.

So I most humbly kiss your Lordship's hands, and rest ever most ready—At your Lordship's command, J. H.

3 February, 1622.

XII.

To my Father.

SIR,—All the affairs went on fairly here, specially that of the Match, when Master Endymion Porter brought lately my Lord of Bristol

a dispatch from England of a high nature, wherein the Earl is commanded to represent to this King how much his Majesty of Great Britain since the beginning of these German wars hath labour'd to merit well of this Crown, and of the whole House of Austria, by a long and lingering patience, grounded still upon assurances hence, that care should be had of his honour, his daughter's jointure, and grand-children's patrimony; yet how crossly all things had proceeded in the Treaty at Brussels, manag'd by Sir Richard Weston, as also that in the Palatinate by the Lord Chichester; how in Treating-time the town and castle of Heidelberg were taken, Mannheim besieg'd, and all acts of hostility us'd, notwithstanding the fair professions made by this King, the Infanta at Brussels, and other his ministers; how merely out of respect to this King he had neglected all martial means, which probably might have preserv'd the Palatinate; those thin garrisons which he had sent thither, being rather for honour's sake to keep a footing until a general accommodation, than that he rely'd any way upon their

strength. And since that there are no other fruits of all this but reproach and scorn, and that those good offices which he us'd towards the Emperor on the behalf of his son-in-law, which he was so much encourag'd by letters from hence should take effect, have not sorted to any other issue than to a plain affront, and a high injuring of both their Majesties, tho' in a differing degree: the Earl is to tell him, that his Majesty of Great Britain hopes and desires, that out of a true apprehension of these wrongs offer'd unto them both, he will, as his dear and loving brother, faithfully promise and undertake upon his honour, confirming the same under his hand and seal, either that Heidelberg shall be within seventy days render'd into his hands; as also that there shall be within the said term of seventy days a suspension of arms in the Palatinate, and that a Treaty shall recommence upon such terms as he propounded in November last, which this King held then to be reasonable. And in case that this be not yielded to by the Emperor, that then this King join forces with his Majesty of England for the recovery of the

Palatinate, which upon this trust hath been lost ; or in case his forces at this time be otherwise employ'd, that they cannot give his Majesty that assistance he desires and deserves. that, at least, he will permit a free and friendly passage through his territories, such forces as his Majesty of Great Britain shall employ in Germany. Of all which, if the Earl of Bristol hath not from the King of Spain a direct assurance under his hand and seal ten days after his audience, that then he take his leave, and return to England to his Majesty's presence ; also to proceed in the negotiation of the Match according to former instructions.

This was the main substance of his Majesty's late letter, yet there was a postil¹ added, that in case a rupture happen 'twixt the two crowns the Earl should not come instantly and abruptly away, but that he should send advice first to England, and carry the business so, that the world should not presently know of it.

Notwithstanding all these traverses, we are confident here that the Match will take, otherwise my cake is dough. There was a

¹ Postscript (Fr.) *apostille*.

great difference in one of the capitulations 'twixt the two Kings, how long the children which should issue of this marriage were to continue *sub regimine Matris*, under the tutele of the mother. This King demanded fourteen years at first, then twelve ; but now he comes to nine, which is newly condescended unto. I receiv'd yours of the first of September, in another from Sir James Crofts, wherein it was no small comfort to me to hear of your health. I am to go hence shortly for Sardinia, a dangerous voyage by reason of Algier pirates. I humbly desire your prayers may accompany—Your dutiful son,

J. H.

Madrid, 23 February, 1622.

XIII.

To Sir James Crofts, Knight.

SIR,—Yours of the second of October came to safe hand with the inclos'd. You write that there came dispatches lately from Rome, wherein the Pope seems to endeavour to insinuate himself into a direct Treaty with England, and to negotiate immediately with

our King touching the dispensation, which he not only labours to evade, but utterly disclaims, it being by Article the task of this King to procure all dispatches thence. I thank you for sending me this news. You shall understand there came lately an express from Rome also to this Court, touching the business of the Match, which gave very good content; but the dispatch and new instructions which Mr. Endymion Porter brought my Lord of Bristol lately from England touching the Prince Palatine fills us with apprehensions of fear. Our Ambassadors here have had audience of this King already about those propositions, and we hope that Master Porter will carry back such things as will satisfy. Touching the two points in the Treaty wherein the two Kings differ'd most, *viz.*, about the education of the children, and the exemption of the Infanta's ecclesiastic servants from secular jurisdiction; both these points are clear'd, for the Spaniard is come from fourteen years to ten, and for so long time the Infant Princes shall remain under the mother's government. And for the other point, the

ecclesiastical Superior shall first take notice of the offence that shall be committed by any spiritual person belonging to the Infanta's family; and according to the merit thereof, either deliver him by degradation to the secular justice or banish him the kingdom, according to the quality of the delict: and it is the same that is practis'd in this kingdom, and other parts that adhere to Rome.

The Conde de Monterre goes Viceroy to Naples, the Marquis de Montesclaros being put by, the gallanter man of the two. I was told of a witty saying of his, when the Duke of Lerma had the vogue in this Court: for going one morning to speak with the Duke, and having danc'd attendance a long time, he peep'd thro' a slit in the hanging, and spy'd Don Rodrigo Calderon, a great man, (who was lately beheaded here for poisoning the late Queen Dowager,) delivering the Duke a paper upon his knees; whereat the Marquis smil'd, and said, *Voto a tal aquel hombre sube mas a las rodillas, que yo no hago a los pies*; 'I swear that man climbs higher upon his knees than I can upon my feet.' Indeed I have

read it to be a true Court rule, that *descendo ascendendum est in Aula*, 'descending is the way to ascend at Court.' There is a kind of humility and compliance that is far from any servile baseness or sordid flattery, and may be termed discretion rather than adulation. I intend, God willing, to go for Sardinia this spring; I hope to have better luck than Master Walsingham Gresley had, who some few years since, in his passage thither upon the same business that I have in agitation, met with some Turks men-of-war, and so was carried slave to Algier. So with my due respects to you, I rest—Your faithful servant,

J. H.

Madrid, 12 *March*, 1622.

XIV.

To Sir Francis Cottington, Secretary to his Highness the Prince of Wales, at St. James's.

SIR,—I believe it will not be unpleasing to you to hear of the procedure and success of that business wherein yourself hath been so long vers'd, I mean the great suit against the

quondam Viceroy of Sardinia, the Conde del Real. Count Gondomar's coming was a great advantage unto me, who hath done me many favours; besides a confirmation of the two sentences of view and review, and of the execution against the Viceroy, I have procured a Royal *Cedule*¹ which I caus'd to be printed, and whereof I send you here inclos'd a copy, by which *Cedule* I have power to arrest his very person; and my Lawyers tell me there was never such a *Cedule* granted before. I have also by virtue of it priority of all other his creditors; he hath made an imperfect overture of a composition, and showed me some trivial old-fashion'd jewels, but nothing equivalent to the debt. And now that I speak of jewels, the late surprizal of Ormuz by the assistance of our ships sinks deep in their stomachs here, and we were afraid it would have spoil'd all proceedings; but my Lord Digby, now Earl of Bristol, (for Count Gondomar brought him o'er his patent,) hath calm'd all things at his last audience.

¹ Schedule (Sp.) *cedula*.

There were luminaries of joy lately here for the victory that Don Gonzalez de Cordova got over Count Mansfeld in the Netherlands, with that army which the Duke of Bouillon had levied for him ; but some say they have not much reason to rejoice, for tho' the infantry suffer'd, yet Mansfeld got clear with all his horse by a notable retreat ; and they say here it was the greatest piece of service and art he ever did ; it being a maxim, 'That there is nothing so difficult in the art of war as an honourable retreat.' Besides, the report of his coming to Breda caus'd Marquis Spinola to raise the siege before Berghen, to burn his tents, and to pack away suddenly, for which he is much censur'd here.

Captain Leat and others have written to me of the favourable report you pleas'd to make of my endeavours here, for which I return you humble thanks : and altho' you have left behind you a multitude of servants in this court, yet if occasion were offer'd, none should be more forward to go on your errand than—
Your humble and faithful servitor, J. H.

Madrid, 15 *March*, 1622.

XV.

*To the Honourable Sir Thomas Savage,
Kt. and Bart.*

HONOURABLE SIR,—The great business of the Match was tending to a period, the articles reflecting both upon the Church and State being capitulated, and interchangeably accorded on both sides; and there wanted nothing to consummate all things, when, to the wonderment of the world, the Prince and the Marquis of Buckingham arriv'd at this Court on Friday last upon the close of the evening: they lighted at my Lord of Bristol's house, and the Marquis (Mr. Thomas Smith) came in first with a portmantle under his arm; then (Mr. John Smith) the Prince was sent for, who stayed a while on t'other side of the street in the dark. My Lord of Bristol, in a kind of astonishment, brought him up to his bed-chamber, where he presently call'd for pen and ink, and dispatch'd a post that night to England, to acquaint his Majesty how in less than sixteen days he was come safely to

the Court of Spain ; that post went lightly laden, for he carried but three letters. The next day came Sir Francis Cottington and Mr. Porter, and dark rumours ran in every corner how some great man was come from England ; and some would not stick to say amongst the vulgar it was the King : but towards the evening on Saturday the Marquis went in a close coach to Court, where he had private audience of this King, who sent Olivares to accompany him back to the Prince, where he kneel'd and kiss'd his hands, and hugg'd his thighs, and deliver'd how unmeasurably glad his Catholic Majesty was of his coming, with other high compliments, which Mr. Porter did interpret. About ten a'clock that night the King himself came in a close coach with intent to visit the Prince, who, hearing of it, met him half way ; and after salutations and divers embraces which pass'd in the first interview, they parted late. I forgot to tell you that Count Gondomar being sworn Counsellor of State that morning, having been before but one of the Council of War, he came in great haste to visit the Prince, saying he had strange

news to tell him, which was, that an Englishman was sworn Privy Counsellor of Spain, meaning himself, who, he said, was an Englishman in his heart. On Sunday following, the King in the afternoon came abroad to take the air, with the Queen, his two brothers, and the Infanta, who were all in one coach; but the Infanta sat in the boot with a blue ribbon about her arm, of purpose that the Prince might distinguish her. There were above twenty coaches besides of grandees, noblemen, and ladies, that attended them. And now it was publicly known amongst the vulgar that it was the Prince of Wales who was come; and the confluence of people before my Lord of Bristol's house was so great and greedy to see the Prince that, to clear the way, Sir Lewis Dives went out and took coach, and all the crowd of people went after him: so the Prince himself a little after took coach, wherein there were the Earl of Bristol, Sir Walter Aston, and Count Gondomar; and so went to the Prado, a place hard by, of purpose to take the air, where they stayed till the King pass'd by. As soon as the Infanta saw

the Prince her colour rose very high, which we hold to be an impression of love and affection, for the face is oftentimes a true index of the heart. Upon Monday morning after the King sent some of his prime nobles, and other gentlemen, to attend the Prince in quality of officers, as one to be his Majordomo (his steward), another to be Master of the Horse, and so to inferior officers; so that there is a complete Court now at my Lord of Bristol's house: but upon Sunday next the Prince is to remove to the King's Palace, where there is one of the chief quarters of the house providing for him. By the next opportunity you shall hear more. In the interim I take my leave, and rest—Your most humble and ready servitor, J. H.

Madrid, 27 *March*, 1623.

XVI.

To Sir Eubule Thelwall, Kt., at Gray's-Inn.

SIR,—I know the eyes of all England are earnestly fix'd now upon Spain, her best

jewel being here ; but his journey was like to be spoil'd in France, for if he had stayed but a little longer at Bayonne, the last town of that kingdom hitherwards, he had been discover'd ; for Mons. Gramond, the Governor, had notice of him not long after he had taken post. The people here do mightily magnify the gallantry of the journey, and cry out that he deserv'd to have the Infanta thrown into his arms the first night he came. He hath been entertain'd with all the magnificence that possibly could be devis'd. On Sunday last in the morning betimes he went to St. Hierom's Monastery, whence the Kings of Spain used to be fetch'd the day they are crown'd ; and thither the King came in person with his two brothers, his eight Councils, and the flower of the nobility ; he rid upon the King's right hand thro' the heart of the town under a great canopy, and was brought so into his lodgings in the King's palace, and the King himself accompany'd him to his very bedchamber. It was a very glorious sight to behold ; for the custom of the Spaniard is, tho' he go plain in his ordinary habit, yet

upon some festival or cause of triumph, there's none goes beyond him in gaudiness.

We daily hope for the Pope's Breve or Dispensation to perfect the business, tho' there be dark whispers abroad that it has come already ; but that upon this unexpected coming of the Prince it was sent back to Rome, and some new clauses thrust in for their further advantage. Till this dispatch comes, matters are at a kind of a stand ; yet his Highness makes account to be back in England about the latter end of May. God Almighty turn all to the best, and to what shall be most conducive to His glory. So with my due respects unto you, I rest—Your most obliged servitor, J. H.

Madrid, 1 April, 1623.

XVII.

To Captain Leat.

SIR,—Having brought up the law to the highest point against the Viceroy of Sardinia, and that in an extraordinary manner, as may appear unto you by that printed *Cedule* I sent you in my last, and finding an apparent

disability in him to satisfy the debt, I thought upon a new design, and fram'd a memorial to the King, and wrought good strong means to have it seconded, that in regard that predatory act of seizing upon the ship *Vineyard* in Sardinia, with all her goods, was done by his Majesty's Viceroy, his Sovereign Minister of State, one that immediately represented his own Royal Person, and that the said Viceroy was insolvent ; I desir'd his Majesty would be pleas'd to grant a warrant for the relief of both parties, to lade so many thousand *Sterils*, or measures of corn, out of Sardinia and Sicily custom-free. I had gone far in the business, when Sir Francis Cottington sent for me, and requir'd me in the Prince his name to proceed no further herein till he was departed : so his Highness's presence here hath turn'd rather to my disadvantage than otherwise. Among other *Grandezas* which the King of Spain confer'd upon our Prince, one was the releasement of prisoners, and that all petitions of grace should come to him for the first month ; but he hath been wonderful sparing in receiving any, specially from

any English, Irish, or Scot. Your son Nicholas is come hither from Alicante about the ship *Amity*, and I shall be ready to second him in getting satisfaction : so I rest—Yours ready to serve you,

J. H.

Madrid, 3 June, 1623.

XVIII.

To Captain Tho. Porter.

NOBLE CAPTAIN,—My last to you was in Spanish, in answer to one of yours in the same language ; and amongst that confluence of English gallants, which upon the occasion of his Highness being here, are come to this Court, I fed myself with hopes a long while to have seen you ; but I find now that those hopes were imp'd with false feathers. I know your heart is here, and your best affections, therefore I wonder what keeps back your person : but I conceive the reason to be, that you intend to come like yourself, to come Commander-in-chief of one of the Castles of the Crown, one of the Ships Royal. If you come to this shore-side, I hope you will have

time to come to the Court ; I have at any time a good lodging for you, and my landlady is none of the meanest, and her husband hath many good parts. I heard her setting him forth one day, and giving this character of him, *Mi marido es buen musico, buen esgrimidor, buen escrivano, excelente arithmetico, salvo que no multiplica.* ' My husband is a good musician, a good fencer, a good horseman, a good penman, and an excellent arithmetician, only he cannot multiply.' For outward usage, there is all industry used to give the Prince and his servants all possible contentment ; and some of the King's own servants wait upon them at table in the Palace, where I am sorry to hear some of them jeer at the Spanish fare, and use other slighting speeches and demeanour. There are many excellent poems made here since the Prince's arrival, which are too long to couch in a letter ; yet I will venture to send you this one stanza of Lope de Vega's.

Carlos Estuardo Soy.

*Que siendo Amor mi guia,
Al cielo d' España voy
Por ver mi Estrella Maria.*

There are comedians once a week come to the Palace, where, under a great canopy, the Queen and the Infanta sit in the middle, our Prince and Don Carlos on the Queen's right hand, the King and the little Cardinal on the Infanta's left hand. I have seen the Prince have his eyes immoveably fixed upon the Infanta half an hour together in a thoughtful, speculative posture, which sure would needs be tedious, unless affection did sweeten it: it was no handsome comparison of Olivares, that he watch'd her as a cat doth a mouse. Not long since the Prince understanding that the Infanta was us'd to go some mornings to the Casa de Campo, a summer-house the King hath on t'other side the river, to gather May-dew, he did rise betimes and went thither, taking your brother with him; they were let into the house, and into the garden, but the Infanta was in the orchard: and there being a high partition wall between, and the door doubly bolted, the Prince got on the top of the wall, and sprung down a great height, and so made towards her; but she spying him first of all the rest, gave a shriek and ran

back ; the old Marquis that was then her guardian came towards the Prince, and fell on his knees, conjuring his Highness to retire, in regard he hazarded his head if he admitted any to her company ; so the door was open'd, and he came out under that wall over which he had got in. I have seen him watch a long hour together in a close coach, in the open street, to see her as she went abroad. I cannot say the Prince did ever talk with her privately, yet publicly often, my Lord of Bristol being interpreter ; but the King always sat hard by to hear all. Our cousin Archy hath more privilege than any, for he often goes with his fool's coat where the Infanta is with her *Meninas* and Ladies of Honour, and keeps a blowing and blubbering amongst them, and flurts out what he lists.

One day they were discoursing what a marvellous thing it was that the Duke of Bavaria, with less than 15,000 men, after a long toilsome march, should dare to encounter the Paisgrave's army, consisting of above 25,000, and to give them an utter discomfiture, and take Prague presently after. Whereunto

Archy answer'd, that he would tell them a stranger thing than that. 'Was it not a strange thing,' quoth he, 'that in the year '88, there should come a fleet of one hundred and forty sail from Spain to invade England, and that ten of these could not go back to tell what became of the rest?' By the next opportunity I will send you the Cordovan pockets and gloves you writ for of Francisco Moreno's perfuming. So may my dear Captain live long, and love his

J. H.

Madrid, 10 July, 1623.

XIX.

*To my Cousin, Tho. Guin, Esq., at his House
at Treastle.*

COUSIN,—I receiv'd lately one of yours, which I cannot compare more properly than to a posy of curious flowers, there was therein such variety of sweet strains and dainty expressions of love: and tho' it bore an old date, for it was forty days before it came to safe hand, yet the flowers were still fresh, and not a whit faded, but did cast as strong and

as fragrant a scent as when your hands bound them up first together, only there was one flower that did not savour so well, which was the undeserv'd character you please to give of my small abilities, which in regard you look upon me thro' the prospective of affection, appear greater to you than they are of themselves; yet as small as they are, I would be glad to employ them all to serve you upon any occasion.

Whereas you desire to know how matters pass here, you shall understand that we are rather in assurance, than hopes, that the Match will take effect, when one dispatch more is brought to Rome which we greedily expect. The Spaniards generally desire it, they are much taken with our Prince, with the bravery of his journey, and his discreet comportment since; and they confess there was never Princess courted with more gallantry. The Wits of the Court here have made divers encomiums of him, and of his affection to the Lady Infanta. Amongst others I send you a Latin Poem of one Marnierius, a Valencian, to which I add this ensuing Hexatich; which

in regard of the difficulty of the verse consisting of all terneries (which is the hardest way of versifying) and of the exactness of the translation, I believe will give you content :

*Fax grata est, gratum est vulnus, mihi grata catena est,
 Me quibus astringit, lædit, & urit Amor ;
 Sed flammam extinguere, sanari vulnera, solvi
 Vincula, etiam ut possem non ego posse velim :
 Mirum equidem genus hoc morbi est, incendia & ictus
 Vinculaque vinctus adhuc, læsus & ustus, amo.*

Grateful's to me the fire, the wound, the chain,
 By which Love burns, Love binds and giveth pain ;
 But for to quench this fire, these bonds to loose,
 These wounds to heal, I would nor could I choose :
 Strange sickness, where the wounds, the bonds, the
 fire
 That burns, that bind, that hurt, I must desire.

In your next, I pray, send me your opinion of these verses, for I know you are a critic in poetry. Mr. Vaughan of the 'Golden-grove' and I were camerades and bed-fellows here many months together ; his father, Sir John Vaughan, the Prince his Controller, is lately come to attend his master. My Lord of Carlisle, my Lord of Holland, my Lord of Rochfort, my Lord of Denbigh, and divers

others are here; so that we have a very flourishing Court, and I could wish you were here to make one of the number. So my dear cousin, I wish you all happiness, and our noble Prince a safe and successful return to England—Your most affectionate cousin,

J. H.

Madrid, 13 *August*, 1623.

XX.

To my noble Friend, Sir John North.

SIR,—The long-look'd-for dispensation is come from Rome, but I hear it is clogg'd with new clauses; and one is, that the Pope, who allegeth that the only aim of the Apostolical See in granting this dispensation, was the advantage and ease of the Catholics in the King of Great Britain's dominions, therefore he desir'd a valuable caution for the performance of those articles which were stipulated in their favour; this hath much puzzled the business, and Sir Francis Cottington comes now over about it. Besides, there is some distaste taken at the Duke of Buckingham

here, and I heard this King should say he would treat no more with him, but with the Ambassadors, who, he saith, have a more plenary Commission, and understand the business better. As there is some darkness happen'd 'twixt the two favourites, so matters stand not right 'twixt the Duke and the Earl of Bristol ; but God forbid that a business of so high a consequence as this, which is likely to tend so much to the universal good of Christendom, to the restitution of the Palatinate, and the composing those broils in Germany, should be transvers'd by differences 'twixt a few private subjects, tho' now public ministers.

Mr. Washington, the Prince his page, is lately dead of a calenture, and I was at his burial under a fig-tree behind my Lord of Bristol's house. A little before his death one Ballard, an English Priest, went to tamper with him ; and Sir Edmund Varney meeting him coming down the stairs out of Washington's chamber, they fell from words to blows, but they were parted. The business was like to gather very ill blood, and to come to a great height, had not Count Gondomar quash'd it, which I believe

he could not have done, unless the times had been favourable; for such is the reverence they bear to the Church here, and so holy a conceit they have of all ecclesiastics, that the greatest Don in Spain will tremble to offer the meanest of them any outrage or affront. Count Gondomar has also help'd to free some English that were in the Inquisition in Toledo and Seville; and I could allege many instances how ready and cheerful he is to assist any Englishman whatsoever, notwithstanding the base affronts he hath often receiv'd of the 'London Boys,' as he calls them. At his last return hither, I heard of a merry saying of his to the Queen, who discoursing with him about the greatness of London, and whether it was as populous as Madrid: 'Yes, *Madame*, and more populous when I came away, tho' I believe there's scarce a man left there now but all women and children; for all the men both in Court and City were ready booted and spurred to go away.' And I am sorry to hear other nations do much tax the English of their incivility to public ministers of State, and what ballads and pasquils, and fop-

peries and plays were made against Gondomar for doing his master's business. My Lord of Bristol coming from Germany to Brussels, notwithstanding that at his arrival thither the news was fresh that he had reliev'd Frankenthal as he pass'd, yet was he not a whit the less welcome, but valued the more both by the Archduchess herself and Spinola, with all the rest ; as also that they knew well that the said Earl had been the sole adviser of keeping Sir Robert Mansell abroad with that Fleet upon the coast of Spain, till the Palsgrave should be restor'd. I pray, Sir, when you go to London-wall, and Tower-hill, be pleas'd to remember my humble service, where you know it is due. So I am—Your most faithful servitor,

J. H.

Madrid, 15 *August*, 1623.

XXI.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Colchester.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I received the letter and commands your Lordship pleas'd to

send me by Mr. Walsingham Gresley ; and touching the constitutions and orders of the Contratation-house¹ of the West Indies in Seville, I cannot procure it for love or money, upon any terms ; tho' I have done all possible diligence therein. And some tell me it is dangerous, and no less than treason in him that gives the copy of them to any, in regard 'tis counted the greatest mystery of all the Spanish Government.

That difficulty which happen'd in the business of the Match of giving caution to the Pope, is now overcome : for whereas our King answer'd, 'That he could give no other caution than his Royal word and his son's, exemplify'd under the Great Seal of England, and confirm'd by his Council of State, it being impossible to have it done by Parliament, in regard of the averseness the common people have to the alliance ; and whereas this gave no satisfaction to Rome, the King of Spain now offers himself for caution, for putting in execution what is stipulated in behalf of the Roman Catholics thro'out his Majesty of

¹ *Casa de Contratacion, Trading-house.*

Great Britain's dominions. But he desires to consult his ghostly fathers, to know whether he may do it without wronging his conscience: hereupon there hath been a Junta form'd of Bishops and Jesuits, who have been already a good while about it; and the Bishop of Segovia, who is, as it were, Lord Treasurer, having written a treatise lately against the Match, was outed of his office, banished the Court, and confin'd to his diocese. The Duke of Buckingham hath been ill-dispos'd a good while, and lies sick at Court, where the Prince hath no public exercise of devotion, but only bed-chamber prayers; and some think that his lodging in the King's house is like to prove a disadvantage to the main business: for whereas most sorts of people here hardly hold us to be Christians, if the Prince had a Palace of his own, and been permitted to have us'd a room for an open Chapel to exercise the Liturgy of the Church of England, it would have brought them to have a better opinion of us; and to this end there were some of our best church-plate and vestments brought hither, but never used. The

slow pace of this Junta troubles us a little, and to the divines there are some civilians admitted lately; and the *quære* is this, Whether the King of Spain may bind himself by oath in the behalf of the King of England to perform such and such articles that are agreed on in favour of the Roman Catholics by virtue of this Match, whether the King may do this *salva conscientia*?

There was a great show lately here of baiting of bulls with men, for the entertainment of the Prince; it is the chiefest of all Spanish sports; commonly there are men kill'd at it, therefore there are priests appointed to be there ready to confess them. It hath happen'd oftentimes, that a bull hath taken up two men upon his horns with their guts dangling about them; the horsemen run with lances and swords, the foot with goads. As I am told, the Pope hath sent divers Bulls against this sport of bulling, yet it will not be left, the nation hath taken such an habitual delight in it. There was an ill-favour'd accident like to have happen'd lately at the King's house, in that part where my Lord of Carlisle

and my Lord Denbigh were lodg'd ; for my Lord Denbigh late at night taking a pipe of tobacco in a balcony, which hung over the King's Garden, he blew down the ashes, which falling upon some parch'd combustible matter, began to flame and spread ; but Mr. Davis, my Lord of Carlisle's barber, leapt down a great height, and quench'd it. So with continuance of my most humble service, I rest ever ready—At your Lordship's command,

J. H.

Madrid, *August* 16, 1623.

XXII.

To Sir James Crofts ; from Madrid.

SIR,—The Court of Spain affords now little news ; for there is a Remora sticks to the business of the Match, till the Junta of Divines give up their opinion. But from Turkey there came a letter this week, wherein there is the strangest and most tragical news, that in my small reading no story can parallel, or shew with more pregnancy the instability and tottering estate of human

greatness, and the sandy foundation whereon the vast Ottoman Empire is rear'd : for Sultan Osman, the Grand Turk, a man according to the humour of that nation, warlike and flesh'd in blood, and a violent hater of Christians, was in the flower of his years, in the heat and height of his courage, knock'd in the head by one of his own slaves, and one of the meanest of them, with a battle-axe, and the murderer never after proceeded against or question'd.

The ground of this tragedy was the late ill success he had against the Pole, wherein he lost about 100,000 horse for want of forage, and 80,000 men for want of fighting ; which he imputed to the cowardice of his Janizaries, who rather than bear the brunt of the battle, were more willing to return home to their wives and merchandizing ; which they are now permitted to do, contrary to their first institution, which makes them more worldly and less venturous. This disgraceful return from Poland stuck in Osman's stomach, and so he study'd a way to be reveng'd of the Janizaries ; therefore by the advice of his

Grand Vizier, (a stout gallant man, who had been one of the chief Beglerbeks in the East,) he intended to erect a new soldiery in Asia about Damasco, of the Coords, a frontier people, and consequently hardy and inur'd to arms. Of these he purposed to entertain 40,000 as a Lifeguard for his person, tho' the main design was to suppress his lazy and lustful Janizaries, with men of fresh new spirits.

To disguise this plot, he pretended a pilgrimage to Mecca, to visit Mahomet's Tomb, and reconcile himself to the Prophet, who he thought was angry with him, because of his late ill success in Poland: but this colour was not specious enough, in regard he might have perform'd this pilgrimage with a smaller train and charge; therefore it was propounded that the Emir of Sidon should be made to rise up in arms, that so he might go with a greater power and treasure; but this plot was held disadvantageous to him, in regard his Janizaries must then have attended him: so he pretends and prepares only for the pilgrimage, yet he makes ready as much treasure as he could make, and to that end he

melts his plate, and furniture of horses, with divers Church-lamps. This fomented some jealousy in the Janizaries, with certain words which should drop from him, that he would find soldiers shortly should whip them. Hereupon he hath sent over to Asia's side his pavilions, many of his servants, with his jewels and treasure, resolving upon the voyage, notwithstanding that divers petitions were deliver'd him from the clergy, the civil magistrate, and the soldiery, that he should desist from the voyage, but all would not do. Thereupon, on the point of his departure, the Janizaries and Spahies came in a tumultuary manner to the Seraglio, and in a high insolent language dissuaded him from the pilgrimage, and demanded of him his ill counsellors. The first he granted, but for the second, he said that it stood not with his honour, to have his nearest servants torn from him so, without any legal proceeding; but he assur'd them that they should appear in the Divan the next day, to answer for themselves: but this not satisfying, they went away in a fury, and plunder'd the Grand

Vizier's Palace, with divers others. Osman hereupon was advis'd to go from his private gardens that night to the Asian shore, but his destiny kept him from it: so the next morning they came arm'd to the Court (but having made a covenant not to violate the Imperial throne) and cut in pieces the Grand Vizier with divers other great officers; and not finding Osman, who had hid himself in a small lodge in one of his gardens, they cry'd out they must have a Mussulman Emperor: therefore they broke into a dungeon, and brought out Mustapha, Osman's uncle, whom he had clapt there at the beginning of the tumult, and who had been King before, but was depos'd for his simplicity, being a kind of *Santon*, or holy man, that is, 'twixt an innocent and an idiot; this Mustapha they did re-enthronize, and place in the Ottoman Empire.

The next day they found out Osman, and brought him before Mustapha, who excus'd himself with tears in his eyes for his rash attempts, which wrought tenderness in some, but more scorn and fury in others; who fell

upon the Capi Aga, with other officers, and cut them in pieces before his eyes. Osman thence was carry'd to prison, and as he was getting on horseback, a common soldier took off his turban, and clapt his upon Osman's head, who in his passage begg'd a draught of water at a fountain. The next day, the new Vizier went with an executioner to strangle him, in regard there were two younger brothers more of his to preserve the Ottoman's race ; where, after they had rush'd in, he being newly awak'd, and staring upon them, and thinking to defend himself, a robust boisterous rogue knock'd him down, and so the rest fell upon him, and strangled him with much ado.

Thus fell one of the greatest potentates upon earth, by the hand of a contemptible slave, for there is not a free-born subject in all that vast empire. Thus fell he that entitles himself Most Puissant and Highest Monarch of the Turks, King above all Kings, a King that dwelleth upon the Earthly Paradise, Son of Mahomet, Keeper of the Grave of the Christian God, Lord of the Tree of Life, and

of the River Fliski, Prior of the Earthly Paradise, Conqueror of the Macedonians, the Seed of Great Alexander, Prince of the Kingdoms of Tartary, Mesopotamia, Media, and of the Martial Mammalucks, Anatolia, Bithynia, Asia, Armenia, Servia, Thracia, Morea, Valachia, Moldavia, and of all warlike Hungary; Sovereign Lord and Commander of all Greece, Persia, both the Arabias, the most noble Kingdom of Egypt, Tremisen, and African Empire of Trabesond, and the most glorious Constantinople, Lord of all the White and Black Seas, of the Holy City Mecca and Medina, shining with divine glory; Commander of all things that are to be commanded, and the strongest and mightiest champion of the wide world; a Warrior appointed by Heaven in the edge of the Sword, a Persecutor of his Enemies, a most perfect Jewel of the Blessed Tree, the chiefest keeper of the crucify'd God, &c., with other such bombastical titles.

This Osman was a man of goodly constitution, an amiable aspect, and of excess of courage, but sordidly covetous; which drove him to violate the Church, and to melt the

lamps thereof, which made the Mufti say, that this was a due judgment fallen upon him from Heaven for his sacrilege. He us'd also to make his person too cheap, for he would go ordinarily in the night time with two men after him, like a petty constable, and peep into the Cauph-houses¹ and Cabarets, and apprehend soldiers there. And these two things it seems was the cause, that when he was so assaulted in the Seraglio, not one of his domestic servants, whereof he had 3,000, would lift an arm to help him.

Some few days before his death he had a strange dream, for he dreamt that he was mounted upon a great camel, who would not go neither by fair nor foul means ; and lighting off him, and thinking to strike him with his scimitar, the body of the beast vanish'd, leaving the head and bridle only in his hands. When the Mufti and the Hoggies could not interpret this dream, Mustapha his uncle did it ; for he said, the camel signify'd his empire, his mounting of him his excess in government, his lighting down his deposing.

¹ Coffee-houses. (Turk.) *qahveh*.

Another kind of prophetic speech dropt from the Grand Vizier to Sir Thomas Roe, our Ambassador there, who having gone a little before this tragedy to visit the said Vizier, told him what whisperings and mutterings there were in every corner for this Asiatic voyage, and what ill consequences might ensue from it: therefore it might well stand with his great wisdom to stay it; but if it held, he desir'd him to leave a charge with the Chimacham, his deputy, that the English nation in the Porte should be free from outrages: whereunto the Grand Vizier answer'd, 'Trouble not yourself about that, for I will not remove so far from Constantinople but I will leave one of my legs behind to serve you;' which prov'd too true, for he was murder'd afterwards, and one of his legs was hung up in the Hippodrome.

This fresh tragedy makes me give over wond'ring at anything that ever I heard or read, to show the lubricity of mundane greatness, as also the fury of the vulgar, which, like an impetuous torrent, gathers strength by degrees as it meets with divers dams, and being come to the height cannot stop itself:

for when this rage of the soldiers began first, there was no design at all to violate or hurt the Emperor, but to take from him his ill counsellors; but being once a-foot, it grew by insensible degrees to the utmost of outrages.

The bringing out of Mustapha from the dungeon, where he was prisoner, to be Emperor of the Mussulmans, put me in mind of what I read in Mr. Camden of our late Queen Elizabeth, how she was brought from the scaffold to the English throne.

They who profess to be critics in policy here, hope that this murdering of Osman may in time breed good blood, and prove advantageous to Christendom: for tho' this be the first Emperor of the Turks that was dispatcht so, he is not like to be the last, now that the soldiers have this precedent: others think that if that design in Asia had taken, it had been very probable the Constantinopolitans had hois'd up another King, and so the Empire had been dismembered, and by this division had lost strength, as the Roman Empire did, when it was broken into East and West.

Excuse me that this my letter is become such a monster, I mean that it hath pass'd the size and ordinary proportion of a letter; for the matter it treats of is monstrous: besides, it is a rule, that historical letters have more liberty to be long than others. In my next you shall hear how matters pass here; in the meantime and always, I rest—Your Honour's most devoted servitor,

J. H.

17 August, 1623.

XXIII.

*To the Right Honourable Sir Tho. Savage,
Knight and Baronet.*

HONOURABLE SIR,—The procedure of things in relation to the grand business, the Match, was at a kind of stand, when the long-winded Junta deliver'd their opinions, and fell at last upon this result, that his Catholic Majesty, for the satisfaction of St. Peter, might oblige himself in the behalf of England, for the performance of those capitulations which related to the Roman Catholics in that kingdom; and in case of non-performance, then to

right himself by war : since that the matrimonial articles were solemnly sworn to by the King of Spain and His Highness, the two favourites, our two Ambassadors, the Duke of Infantado, and other Counsellors of State being present : hereupon the eighth of the next September is appointed to be the day of *Desposorios*, the day of affiance, or the betrothing day. There was much gladness express'd here, and luminaries of joy were in every great street thro'out the city : but there is an unlucky accident hath interven'd, for the King gave the Prince a solemn visit since, and told him Pope Gregory was dead, who was so great a friend to the Match ; but in regard the business was not yet come to perfection, he could not proceed further in it till the former dispensation were ratified by the new Pope Urban, which to procure he would make it his own task, and that all possible expedition should be us'd in't, and therefore desir'd his patience in the interim. The Prince answer'd, and press'd the necessity of his speedy return with divers reasons ; he said there was a general kind of murmuring in

England for his so long absence, that the King his father was old and sickly; that the fleet of his ships were already, he thought, at sea to fetch him, the winter drew on, and withal, that the articles of the Match were sign'd in England with this proviso, that if he be not come back by such a month, they should be of no validity. The King reply'd, that since his Highness was resolv'd upon so sudden a departure, he would please to leave a proxy behind to finish the marriage, and he would take it for a favour if he would depute *him* to personate him; and ten days after the ratification shall come from Rome the business shall be done, and afterwards he might send for his wife when he pleas'd. The Prince rejoin'd, that amongst those multitudes of royal favours which he had receiv'd from his Majesty, this transcended all the rest; therefore he would most willingly leave a proxy for his Majesty, and another for Don Carlos, to this effect: so they parted for that time without the least umbrage of discontent, nor do I hear of any engender'd since. The last month, 'tis true, the Junta of divines

dwelt so long upon the business, that there were whisperings that the Prince intended to go away disguis'd as he came ; and the question being ask'd by a person of quality, there was a brave answer made, that if love brought him thither, it is not fear shall drive him away.

There are preparations already a-foot for his return, and the two proxies are drawn and left in my Lord of Bristol's hands. Notwithstanding this ill-favour'd stop, yet we are here all confident the business will take effect: in which hopes I rest—Your most humble and ready servitor,

J. H.

Madrid, 18 *August*, 1623.

XXIV.

To Capt. Nich. Leat, at his house in London.

SIR,—This letter comes to you by Mr. Richard Altham ; of whose sudden departure hence I am very sorry, it being the late death of his brother, Sir James Altham. I have been at a stand in the business a good while, for his Highness's coming hither was no advantage

to me in the earth. He hath done the Spaniards divers courtesies, but he hath been very sparing in doing the English any. It may be, perhaps, because it may be a diminution of honour to be beholden to any foreign Prince to do his own subjects favours ; but my business requires no favour, all I desire is justice, which I have not obtain'd yet in reality.

The Prince is preparing for his journey, I shall to it again closely when he is gone, or make a shaft or a bolt of it. The Pope's death hath retarded the proceedings of the Match, but we are so far from despairing of it, that one may have wagers thirty to one it will take effect still. He that deals with this nation must have a great deal of phlegm ; and if this grand business of State, the Match, suffer such protractions and puttings off, you need not wonder that private negotiations, as mine is, should be subject to the same inconveniences. There shall be no means left unattempted that my best industry can find out to put a period to it ; and when his Highness is gone, I hope to find my Lord of Bristol

more at leisure to continue his favour and furtherance, which hath been much already : so I rest—Yours ready to serve you, J. H.

Madrid, 19 *August*, 1623.

XXV.

To Sir James Crofts.

SIR,—The Prince is now upon his journey to the sea-side, where my Lord of Rutland attends for him with a Royal Fleet. There are many here shrink-in their shoulders, and are very sensible of his departure, and the Lady Infanta resents it more than any ; she hath caus'd a mass to be sung every day ever since for his good voyage. The Spaniards themselves confess there was never Princess so bravely woo'd. The King and his two brothers accompany'd his Highness to the Escorial, some twenty miles off, and would have brought him to the sea-side, but that the Queen is big, and hath not many days to go. When the King and he parted, there pass'd wonderful great endearments and embraces in divers postures between them a

long time ; and in that place there is a Pillar to be erected as a monument to posterity. There are some grandees, and Count Gondomar, with a great train besides, gone with him to the marine, to the sea-side, which will be many days' journey, and must needs put the King of Spain to a mighty expense, besides his seven months' entertainment here. We hear that when he pass'd thro' Valladolid, the Duke of Lerma was retired thence for the time by special command from the King, lest he might have discourse with the Prince, whom he extremely desired to see ; this sunk deep into the old Duke, insomuch that he said, that of all the acts of malice which Olivares had ever done him, he resented this more than any. He bears up yet very well under his Cardinal's habit, which hath kept him from many a foul storm that might have fallen upon him else from the temporal power. The Duke of Uzeda, his son, finding himself decline in favour at Court, hath retir'd to the country, and died soon after of discontentment : during his sickness the Cardinal writ this short weighty letter unto him : '*Dixen me, que*

*mareys de necio ; por mi, mas temo mis años que mis enemigos. Lerma.*¹ I shall not need to English it to you, who is so great a master of the language. Since I began this letter, we understand the Prince is safely embark'd, but not without some danger of being cast away, had not Sir Sackville Trevor taken him up ; I pray God send him a good voyage, and us no ill news from England. My most humble service at Tower-hill, so I am—Your humble servitor,

J. H.

Madrid, 21 August, 1623.

XXVI.

To my Brother, Dr. Howell.

MY BROTHER,—Since our Prince his departure hence, the Lady Infanta studieth English apace, and one Mr. Wadsworth and Father Boniface, two Englishmen, are appointed her teachers, and have access to her every day. We account her, as it were, our Princess now ; and as we give, so she takes that

¹ 'I hear sheer stupidity is killing you, for my part, I am more afraid of my years than my enemies.'

title. Our Ambassadors, my Lord of Bristol and Sir Walter Aston, will not stand now cover'd before her when they have audience, because they hold her to be their Princess. She is preparing divers suits of rich clothes for his Highness of perfum'd amber leather, some embroider'd with pearl, some with gold, some with silver. Her family is a-settling apace, and most of her ladies and officers are known already. We want nothing now but one dispatch more from Rome, and then the marriage will be solemniz'd, and all things consummated: yet there is one Mr. Clarke (with the lame arm) that came hither from the sea-side as soon as the Prince was gone; he is one of the Duke of Buckingham's creatures, yet he lies at the Earl of Bristol's house, which we wonder at, considering the darkness that happen'd 'twixt the Duke and the Earl: we fear that this Clarke hath brought something that may puzzle the business. Besides, having occasion to make my address lately to the Venetian Ambassador, who is interested in some part of that great business for which I am here, he told me confidently

it would be no Match, nor did he think it was ever intended. But I want faith to believe him yet, for I know St. Mark is no friend to it, nor France, nor any other Prince or State besides the King of Denmark, whose grandmother was of the House of Austria, being sister to Charles the Emperor. Touching the business of the Palatinate, our Ambassadors were lately assur'd by Olivares and all the counsellors here, and that in this King's name, that he would procure his Majesty of Great Britain entire satisfaction herein ; and Olivares giving them the joy, intreated them to assure their King upon their honour, and upon their lives, of the reality hereof : for the Infanta herself (said he) hath stirr'd in it, and makes it now her own business ; for it was a firm peace and amity (which he confess'd could never be without the accomodation of things in Germany) as much as an alliance, which his Catholic Majesty aim'd at. But we shall know shortly now what to trust to, we shall walk no more in mists, tho' some give out yet that our Prince shall embrace a cloud for Juno at last.

I pray present my service to Sir John Franklin and Sir John Smith, with all at the Hill and Dale ; and when you send to Wales, I pray convey the inclos'd to my father. So, my dear brother, I pray God bless us both, and bring us again joyfully together.—Your very loving brother,

J. H.

Madrid, 12 *August*, 1623.

XXVII.

To my noble Friend, Sir John North, Kt.

SIR,—I receiv'd lately one of yours, but it was of a very old date. We have our eyes here now all fix'd upon Rome, greedily expecting the Ratification ; and lately a strong rumour ran it was come, insomuch that Mr. Clarke, who was sent hither from the Prince, being a-shipboard, (and now lies sick at my Lord of Bristol's house of a calenture,) hearing of it, he desir'd to speak with him, for he had something to deliver him from the Prince : my Lord Ambassador being come to him, Mr. Clarke deliver'd a letter from the Prince, the contents whereof were, that whereas he had

left certain proxies in his hand to be deliver'd to the King of Spain after the Ratification was come, he desir'd and requir'd him not to do it till he should receive further order from England. My Lord of Bristol hereupon went to Sir Walter Aston, who was in joint commission with him for concluding the Match ; and shewing him the letter, what my Lord Aston said I know not, but my Lord of Bristol told him, that they had a Commission-Royal under the Broad Seal of England to conclude the Match ; he knew as well as he how earnest the King their Master hath been any time these ten years to have it done, how there could not be a better pawn for the surrendry of the Palatinate, than the Infanta in the Prince his arms, who could never rest till she did the work, to merit the love of our nation : he told him also how their own particular fortunes depended upon it ; besides, if he should delay one moment to deliver the proxy after the Ratification was come, according to agreement, the Infanta would hold herself so blemish'd in her honour, that it might overthrow all things. Lastly, he told

him, that they incurr'd the hazard of their heads, if they should suspend the executing his Majesty's Commission upon any order but from that power which gave it, who was the King himself. Hereupon both the Ambassadors proceeded still in preparing matters for the solemnizing of the marriage; the Earl of Bristol had caused above thirty rich liveries to be made of watchet¹ velvet, with silver lace up to the very capes of the cloaks, the best sorts whereof were valued at 80*l* a livery. My Lord Aston had also provided new liveries; and a fortnight after the said politic report was blown up, the Ratification came indeed complete and full; so the marriage-day was appointed, a terrace cover'd all over with tapestry was rais'd from the King's Palace to the next Church, which might be about the same extent as from Whitehall to Westminster Abbey; and the King intended to make his sister a wife, and his daughter (whereof the Queen was deliver'd a little before) a Christian upon the same day; the grandees and great ladies had been invited to

¹ A pale blue.

the marriage, and order was sent to all the port-towns to discharge their great ordnance, and sundry other things were prepar'd to honour the solemnity: but when we were thus at the height of our hopes, a day or two before, there came Mr. Killegree, Gresley, Wood, and Davies, one upon the neck of another, with a new Commission to my Lord of Bristol immediately from his Majesty, countermanding him to deliver the proxy aforesaid, until a full and absolute satisfaction were had for the surrendry of the Palatinate under this King's hand and seal, in regard he desir'd his son should be marry'd to Spain, and his son-in-law re-marry'd to the Palatinate at one time. Hereupon all was dash'd in pieces, and that frame which was rearing so many years was ruin'd in a moment. This news struck a damp in the hearts of all people here, and they wish'd that the postilions that brought it had all broke their necks in the way.

My Lord of Bristol hereupon went to Court to acquaint the King with his new Commission, and so propos'd the restitution of the Palatinate. The King answer'd, 'twas none

of his to give; 'tis true, he had a few towns there, but he held them as Commissioner only for the Emperor, and he could not command an Emperor; yet if his Majesty of Great Britain would put a treaty a-foot, he would send his own Ambassador to join. In the interim the Earl was commanded not to deliver the aforesaid proxy of the Prince, for the *Desposorios*, or espousal, until Christmas (and herein it seems his Majesty with you was not well inform'd, for those powers of proxies expir'd before). The King here said further, that if his uncle, the Emperor, or the Duke of Bavaria would not be conformable to reason, he would raise as great an army for the Prince Palsgrave as he did under Spinola, when he first invaded the Palatinate; and to secure this, he would engage his Contratation-house¹ of the West Indies, with his plate-fleet, and give the most binding instrument that could be under his hand and seal. But this gave no satisfaction; therefore my Lord of Bristol, I believe, hath not long to stay here, for he is commanded to deliver no more letters to the

¹ *Vide* note, p. 292.

Infanta, nor demand any more audience, and that she should be no more styl'd Princess of England or Wales. The foresaid caution which this King offer'd to my Lord of Bristol made me think of what I read of his grandfather, Philip II., who having been marry'd to our Queen Mary, and it being thought she was with child of him, and was accordingly pray'd for at Paul's Cross, tho' it prov'd afterward but a tympany, King Philip propos'd to our Parliament, that they would pass an Act that he might be Regent during his or her minority that should be born, and would give good caution to surrender the Crown when he or she should come to age. The motion was hotly canvass'd in the House of Peers, and like to pass, when the Lord Paget rose up and said, 'I,¹ but who shall sue the King's bond?' So the the business was dash'd. I have no more news to send you now, and I am sorry I have so much, unless it were better; for we that have business to negotiate here are like to suffer much by this rupture. Welcome be the will of God, to whose benediction I com-

¹ Used in the sense of 'Ay,' or 'Yes.'

mend you, and rest—Your most humble
servitor, J. H.

Madrid, 25 *August*, 1623.

XXVIII.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Clifford.

MY GOOD LORD,—Tho' this Court cannot afford now such comfortable news in relation to England as I could wish, yet such as it is you shall receive. My Lord of Bristol is preparing for England, I waited upon him lately when he went to take his leave at Court; and the King, washing his hands, took a ring from off his own finger, and put it upon his, which was the greatest honour that ever he did any ambassador, as they say here; he gave him also a cupboard of plate, valued at 20,000 crowns. There were also large and high promises made him, that in case he fear'd to fall upon any rock in England, by reason of the power of those who malign'd him, if he would stay in any of his dominions, he would give him means and honour equal to the highest of his enemies. The Earl did

not only waive, but disdain'd these propositions made to him by Olivares, and said he was so confident of the King his master's justice and high judgment, and of his own innocency, that he conceiv'd no power could be able to do him hurt. There hath occur'd nothing lately in this Court worth the advertisement. They speak much of the strange carriage of that boisterous Bishop of Halverstadt, (for so they term him here,) that having taken a place where there were two monasteries of nuns and friars, he caus'd divers feather beds to be ripp'd, and all the feathers to be thrown in a great hall, whither the nuns and friars were thrust naked with their bodies oil'd and pitch'd, and to tumble among these feathers: which makes them here presage him an ill death. So I most affectionately kiss your hands, and rest—Your very humble servitor,

J. H.

Madrid, 26 *August*, 1623.

XXIX.

To Sir John North.

SIR,—I have many thanks to render you for the favour you lately did to a kinsman of mine, Mr. Vaughan, and for divers others which I defer till I return to that Court, and that I hope will not be long. Touching the procedure of matters here, you shall understand, that my Lord Aston had special audience lately of the King of Spain, and afterwards presented a memorial, wherein there was a high complaint against the miscarriage of the two Spanish Ambassadors now in England, the Marquis of Inojosa and Don Carlos Coloma. The substance of it was, that the said Ambassadors, in a private audience his Majesty of Great Britain had given them, inform'd him of a pernicious plot against his person and royal authority, which was, that at the beginning of your now Parliament, the Duke of Buckingham, with other his complices, often met and consulted in a clandestine way, how to break the treaty

both of Match and Palatinate; and in case his Majesty was unwilling thereunto, he should have a country-house or two to retire unto for his recreation and health, in regard the Prince is now of years and judgment fit to govern. His Majesty so resented this, that the next day he sent them many thanks for the care they had of him, and desir'd them to perfect the work, and now that they had detected the treason, to discover also the traitors; but they were shy in that point. The King sent again, desiring them to send the names of the conspirators in a paper seal'd up by one of their own confidants, which he would receive with his own hands, and no soul should see it else; advising them withal, that they should not prefer this discovery before their own honours, to be accounted false accusers. They reply'd, that they had done enough already by instancing in the Duke of Buckingham, and it might easily be guess'd who were his confidants and creatures. Here-upon his Majesty put those whom he had any grounds to suspect to their oaths; and afterwards sent my Lord Conway, and Sir Francis

Cottington, to tell the Ambassadors that he had left no means unassay'd to discover the conspiracy; that he had found upon oath such a clearness of ingenuity in the Duke of Buckingham, that satisfy'd him of his innocency: therefore he had just cause to conceive that this information of theirs proceeded rather from malice, and some political ends, than from truth; and in regard they would not produce the authors of so dangerous a treason, they made themselves to be justly thought the authors of it: and therefore tho' he might by his own royal justice, and the law of nations, punish this excess and insolence of theirs, and high wrong they had done to his best servants, yea, to the Prince his son, for thro' the sides of the Duke they wounded him, in regard it was impossible that such a design should be attempted without his privity: yet he would not be his own judge herein, but would refer them to the King their master, whom he conceiv'd to be so just, that he doubted not but he would see him satisfy'd; and therefore he would send an express to him thereabouts, to demand

justice and reparation. This business is now in agitation, but we know not what will become of it. We are all here in a sad disconsolate condition, and the merchants shake their heads up and down out of an apprehension of some fearful war to follow : so I most affectionately kiss your hands, and rest—
Your very humble and ready servitor,

J. H.

Madrid, *August* 26, 1623.

XXX.

To Sir Kenelm Digby, Knight.

SIR,—You have had knowledge (none better) of the progression and growings of the Spanish Match from time to time ; I must acquaint you now with the rupture and utter dissolution of it, which was not long a-doing : for it was done in one audience that my Lord of Bristol had lately at Court, whence it may be inferr'd that 'tis far more easy to pull down than rear up ; for that structure which was so many years a-rearing, was dashed, as it were, in a trice : dissolution goeth a faster pace than composi-

tion. And it may be said, that the civil actions of men, specially great affairs of monarchs (as this was), have much analogy, in degrees of progression, with the natural production of man. To make man there are many acts must precede, first a meeting and copulation of the sexes, then conception, which requires a well-dispos'd womb to retain the prolific seed, by the constriction and occlusion of the orifice of the matrix ; which being seed first, and afterwards cream, is by a gentle ebullition coagulated, and turn'd to a crudded lump, which the womb by virtue of its natural heat prepares to be capable to receive form, and to be organiz'd ; whereupon nature falls a-working to delineate all the members, beginning with those that are most noble ; as the heart, the brain, the liver, whereof Galen would have the liver, which is the shop and source of the blood, and Aristotle the heart, to be the first fram'd, in regard 'tis *primum vivens, & ultimum moriens*. Nature continues in this labour until a perfect shape be introduced ; and this is call'd *formation*, which is the third act, and is a

production of an organical body out of the spermatic substance, caused by the plastic virtue of the vital spirits : and sometimes this act is finish'd thirty days after the conception, sometimes fifty, but most commonly in forty-two or forty-five, and is sooner done in the male. This being done, the embryo is animated with three souls : the first with that of plants call'd the vegetable soul, then with a sensitive, which all brute animals have, and lastly, the rational soul is infus'd ; and these three in man are like *Trigonus* in *Tetragono* ; the two first are generated *ex Traduce*, from the seed of the parents ; but the last is by immediate infusion from God : and 'tis controverted 'twixt philosophers and divines, when this infusion is made.

This is the fourth act that goeth to make a man, and is call'd *animation* : and as the naturalists allow animation double the time that formation had from the conception, so they allow to the ripening of the embryo in the womb, and to the birth thereof, treble the time which animation had ; which happeneth sometimes in nine, sometimes in ten months.

This grand business of the Spanish Match may be said to have had such degrees of progression: first there was a meeting and coupling on both sides, for a Junta in Spain, and some select Counsellors of State were appointed in England. After this conjunction, the business was conceiv'd, then it receiv'd form, then life, (tho' the quickening was slow,) but having had near upon ten years in lieu of ten months to be perfected, it was unfortunately strangled when it was ripe ready for birth: and I would they had never been born that did it, for it is like to be out of my way 3,000*l*. And as the embryo in the womb is wrapt in three membranes or tunicles, so this great business, you know better than I, was involv'd in many difficulties, and died so entangled before it could break thro' them.

There is a buzz here of a match 'twixt England and France; I pray God send it a speedier formation and animation than this had, and that it may not prove an abortive.

I send you herewith a letter from the paragon of the Spanish Court, Donna Anna Maria Manrique, the Duke of Marquedas's

sister, who respects you in a high degree; she told me this was the first letter she ever writ to man in her life, except the Duke, her brother; she was much solicited to write to Mr. Thomas Cary, but she would not. I did also your message to the Marquesa d'Inojosa, who put me to sit a good while with her upon Estrado, which was no simple favour: you are much in both these ladies' books, and much spoken of by divers others in this Court. I could not recover your diamond hatband which the picaroon snatch'd from you in the coach, tho' I us'd all means possible, as far as book, bell, and candle, in point of excommunication against the party in all the churches of Madrid, by which means you know divers things are recover'd. So I most affectionately kiss your hands, and rest—Your most faithful servitor,

J. H.

Post.—Yours of the 2nd of March came to safe hand.

Madrid.

XXXI.

*To my Cousin, Mr. J. Price, (now Knight,) at
the Middle Temple; from Madrid.*

COUSIN,—Suffer my letter to salute you
first in this distich,

*A Thamesi Tagus quot leucis flumine distat,
Oscula tot manibus porto, Pricæ, tuis.*

As many miles Thames lies from Tagus strands,
I bring so many kisses to thy hands.

MY DEAR JACK,—In the large register, or
almanack, of my friends in England, you are
one of the chiefest red letters, you are one of
my festival rubriques: for whenever you fall
upon my mind, or my mind falls upon
you, I keep holy-day all the while;
and this happens so often, that you
leave me but few working days thro'out
the whole year, fewer far than this country
affords; for in their calendar above five
months of the twelve are dedicated to some
Saint or other, and kept Festival; a religion
that the London apprentices would like
well.

I thank you for yours of the third current, and the ample relations you give me of London occurrences, but principally for the powerful and sweet assurances you give me of your love, both in verse and prose. All businesses here are off the hinges; for one late audience of my Lord of Bristol pull'd down what was so many years a-raising. And as Thomas Aquinas told an artist of a costly curious statue in Rome, that by some accident, while he was trimming it, fell down and so broke to pieces, '*Opus triginta annorum destruxisti,*' 'Thou hast destroy'd the work of thirty years;' so it may be said, that a work near upon ten years is now suddenly shatter'd to pieces. I hope by God's grace to be now speedily in England, and to re-enjoy your most dear society: in the meantime may all happiness attend you.

Ad Litteram.

*Ocius ut grandire gradus oratio, possis
Prosa, tibi binos jung mus ecce pedes.*

That in thy journey thou mayest be more fleet,
To my dull prose I add these metric feet.

Resp.

*Ad mare cum venio, quid agam? Rep. tum præpete
penna*

Te ferat, est lator nam levis ignis, amor.

But when I come to sea, how shall I shift?

Let love transport thee then, for fire is swift.

—Your most affectionate cousin, J. H.

30 *March*, 1624.

END OF VOL. I.



51

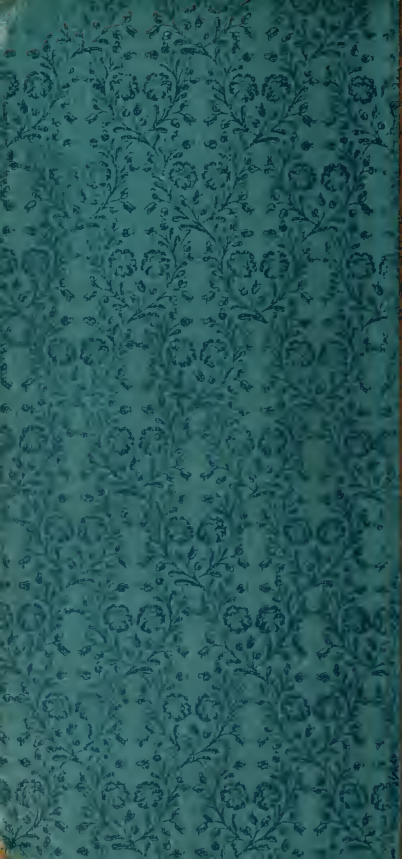
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